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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-150
Thursday
4 August 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Soviet Inspectors Arrive in Florida

LD0408060388 Moscow TASS in English 0554 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 4 TASS—A team of ten Soviet inspectors arrived at the U.S. Patrick Air Force Base in Cape Canaveral, Florida. Under the treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles they will inspect the site where tests of Pershing-2 missiles, subject to destruction under the agreement, were held.

"We are confident that the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty extends the possibilities of peaceful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States, helps strengthen security and build up trust between our two countries", the head of the team of Soviet inspectors said upon arrival at the base. "We hope that mutual inspections will become a contribution toward attaining this goal".

Welcoming Soviet specialists, Lieutenant-Colonel Dirk Wykoff, a representative of the base, stressed that such inspections would undoubtedly help establish greater mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States.

The Soviet inspectors will spend 32 hours at the Patrick base. During the stay at the facility they will perform an inspection of a missile launching complex and two shops in which Pershings were assembled until recently.

Petrovskiy on Partial Test Ban Treaty Anniversary

LD0408092688 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—It will be 25 years tomorrow since the signing in Moscow by the Soviet Union, the United States and United Kingdom of the treaty banning nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. At present more than 100 countries of the world have acceded to that treaty.

"The treaty occupies an important place in the system of treaties and agreements curbing the arms race," Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister told TASS. "It has reliably put an end to nuclear weapons tests in the three media and thus contributed to lessening the global fallout of the radioactive substances, present in the upper atmosphere as a result of the atmospheric blasts in the past."

Vladimir Petrovskiy specially noted that today when one of the top priority objectives of the foreign policy of the USSR and of the other socialist countries is that of a full and total ban on nuclear weapons tests, it is necessary to take into account the positive experience of concluding the treaty banning nuclear tests in three media. The signing of that agreement has demonstrated that given goodwill it is possible to resolve by joint efforts the most complicated issues concerning a ban on nuclear weapons tests, including a general and complete one. It is easier to resolve such tasks now, since the problem of control, which complicated 25 years ago the conclusion of the treaty because of a difference in the approaches of the sides, is practicaly no longer an obstacle.

At present it must be noted that not all the nuclear powers, above all the USA, are prepared for a complete and general ban on the nuclear weapons tests. Yet it is necessary to pursue the road of stage-by-stage limitation of the number and yield of the nuclear blasts. "After the joint Soviet-American experiment was conducted possibilities are being created for the ratification of the treaties of 1974 and 1976 and then drastically lower the ceilings and reduce the number of nuclear blasts a year. Yet this should not be an aim in itself. It is necessary to advance at an accelerated pace on the way towards concluding a treaty on a total ban on the tests," Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasized.

The Soviet Union is ready to use any opportunity for the attainment of that aim, and in particular, the proposals of a number of the countries so that the treaty, which is 25 years only now, be turned into an all-embracing one, i.e. be also applied to nuclear blasts.

Warsaw Pact-NATO 'Mandate' Talks Take Break

LD0308124688 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Vienna August 3 TASS—The last meeting before the break has been held here within the framework of the consultations between the Organization of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and NATO on drawing up a mandate for the talks on cuts in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In their speeches the members of the delegations summed up the results of the work done. Apart from such sections of the mandate, on which agreement was reached earlier, as the aim of the talks, control, exchange of information, agreements have been registered in recent weeks on the composition of the participants in the talks and the mandatory international character of the future agreements. Agreement has been practically reached on all the organizational issues and the procedure of holding talks.

A better understanding of the positions of the sides has been reached on the key element of the mandate—the subject of the talks, in particular the examination at them of dual purpose weapons. The sides have also discussed in detail questions concerning the determination of the geographical zone of the talks.

It has been agreed that after the three-week break consultations will resume late in August this year so as to complete earlier, if possible, the work on the mandate and start the talks already in the current year.

U.S. Official Cited on PRC Arms Talks

LD0308151088 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Beijing August 3 TASS—General Willian Burns, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told reporters in Beijing today that his consultations with Chinese experts were useful.

The sides had discussed disarmament and arms control issues, including nuclear and space weapons, implementation of the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty, and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Burns said that the United States had conveyed its concern to the Chinese side over regional spread of ballistic missiles, which was linked to Chinese sales of the missiles to the Middle East.

Soviet Doctrine Includes Conventional Disarmament

PM2907130588 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 27 Jul 88 p 3

[USSR Academy of Sciences USA and Canada Institute researcher Lev Semeyko "Focus" article: "Moscow Also Wants Conventional Disarmament"]

[Text] The new Soviet military doctrine and its differences from the old doctrine have been misinterpreted in the West. A debate article in SVENSKA DAGBLADET on 12 January—which I was able to read only much later—entitled "Military Doctrine Behind Desire for Disarmament" by Gunnar Jervas of the Swedish Defense Research Institute was a typical example of this. He described the previous doctrine as aggressive, which is untrue, and showed no confidence in the new doctrine, and, although he described it as somewhat more peace-oriented, he called on the Scandinavian countries to keep their guard up. The reason for this is probably that people in the West are unable to abandon the old thinking about the power of military technology. When such thinking is applied to Soviet military doctrine the picture becomes distorted.

The author has missed the main point of the new Soviet military doctrine; namely, that the emphasis has shifted from war with the aim of repulsing aggression to the total prevention of war. This change aims in part to make the military situation in Europe and the world much more stable by making the two sides' combat forces incapable of launching an attack.

Reciprocity is of course required if we are to improve the military situation. A stable situation is only possible once the military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact and NATO really become defense-oriented, and not only in words, but also in respect of the armed forces' structure, armaments, deployment, and military activity.

However, all this does not mean that the Soviet Union's military doctrine was offensive in the sixties and seventies and embraced surprise attacks and the early use of nuclear arms, as Jervas writes. To the extent that the doctrine covered offensive operations, it only did so after assuming an attack from outside. And, of course, side by side with defensive elements. Now the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine only assumes counterattacks within the framework of defense. But counterattacks during a defensive operation are by no means the same as broad and deep offensives. This distinction is very important.

But it is through this prism that Jervas, in the article "START Agreement Important for Sweden Too" (SVENSKA DAGBLADET 25 May), also studies the Soviet Union's approach to naval armaments. Jervas' thesis is that during the forthcoming 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear arms the Soviet Union will be able to replace six outdated submarines in the Baltic with more modern nuclear-armed submarines which were previously deployed close to the United States.

This thesis is erroneous. The Soviet Union is a firm supporter of a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area. If such a zone is established, Moscow is ready to take the necessary measures and steps, including withdrawing from the Baltic submarines armed with nuclear ballistic missiles. The Soviet Union is in favor of a reduction in the level of nuclear confrontation and is opposed to any increase in this level through dangerous modernization or any compensation for the nuclear delivery systems which are to be scrapped. That is not our policy, but it is the policy of the United States and NATO, which so far are remaining firm on compensations for the "Euromissiles" which are being scrapped. On this point I agree with the article's author when he says that as far as Europe is concerned, compensation would be a case of "out of the frying pan, into the fire."

As far as nuclear arms are concerned, it was the Soviet Union which proposed in 1982 that the nuclear powers pledge not to be the first to use nuclear arms. It was the Soviet Union which insisted in 1946 that nuclear arms should be abolished. It was the Soviet Union which proposed in 1981 an absolute zero option for the intermediate-range and tactical nuclear arms in Europe. How is it then possible to claim that the Soviet Union is not positive about nuclear disarmament? On the contrary, the policy of the Soviet Union takes as its point of departure the idea that by reaching a series of agreements on nuclear disarmament it is possible to reduce the nuclear threat to zero.

We have always understood that the use of nuclear arms is tantamount to suicide. But we were not prepared to turn the other cheek and therefore we were forced to increase our stocks of nuclear arms to keep pace with the United States. In the sixties and seventies this buildup had as its aim to preserve strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States. We were and are still convinced that a balance of strength is an important factor in the prevention of war. The problem is simply that this balance is at far too high a level, and that is why Moscow is making every effort to bring about radical reductions.

But this does not mean that the Soviet Union is now intending to prepare itself for a conventional war in "Europe's outlands," as Gunnar Jervas claims. Moscow is advocating radical cuts in conventional arms too, from the Atlantic to the Urals—that is, throughout Europe. To pick out the Nordic area as some "well defined peripheral region" is an artificial trick. Jervas does so in his endeavor to prove that this part of Europe could be exposed to the greatest threat of war in the future.

Europe is our common home. Searching for alleged aggressive intentions on its periphery in Soviet military doctrine is pointless. The old political thinking is the wrong point of departure from which to consider the military doctrines of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

Daily Notes Latest UN Moves To End Gulf War

PM0308124788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "Iran-Iraq: Talks Continue"]

[Text] UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar is continuing his meetings with the foreign ministers of Iraq and Iran in New York.

The consultations held last week showed that, despite both sides' acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598, Iran and Iraq have different concepts of how to achieve a settlement. Iran notably favors an immediate cease-fire and a start to implementing the UN secretary general's plan for carrying out the resolution. Iraq, for its part, is seeking direct talks with Iran through Perez de Cuellar's good offices in which all the basic aspects of a peace settlement must be discussed prior to a cease-fire.

Initially, Tehran categorically rejected the idea of direct talks; however, it subsequently considerably modified its stance. The Iranian side does not now preclude direct contacts with Iraq, only at some later stage. This has also been confirmed by the secretary general.

Speaking to journalists Monday, Perez de Cuellar noted that the problem is now at which stage the talks should commence. He also said: "I am now trying to solve this problem." "Direct talks are essential if the two sides are to overcome their disagreements," he added. "I cannot solve all the questions for them. They themselves must meet."

As for the the progress of the talks in New York, the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT points out that "diplomatic pressure has now shifted onto Iraq" with the aim of getting it to end the war. "Iran is demonstrating all manner of signs of flexibility in its stance, and its recent declaration of readiness to refrain from attacks on merchant ships and tankers in the Persian Gulf strengthens its position still further." Iraq, on the contrary, the newspaper contends, shows no "signs of readiness to conclude peace at this stage."

The group of UN experts who have visited Tehran and Baghdad, where they discussed the technical details of the practical implementation of the cease-fire, the withdrawal of the belligerents' troops, and the exchange of prisoners, is expected to return to the United States Tuesday. According to Perez de Cuellar, the date of the cease-fire will be set only after an examination of the report prepared by the experts, and after a discussion of their recommendations by the UN Security Council and representatives of Iraq, Iran, and the countries prepared to offer observers to monitor adherence to the cease-fire agreement.

The United Nations issued a report Monday inquiring into cases involving the use of chemical weapons in the Iraq-Iran conflict. Commenting on this document, the UN secretary general expressed deep regret and concern at the fact that chemical weapons had again been used.

Rogachev Writes on Asia-Pacific, Vladivostok

BK2807134388 Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 21 Jul 88 pp 5, 8

[Article by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev: "Vladivostok for the Asia and Pacific Region"]

[Text] Honorable MERDEKA readers! Let me first express my thanks for the request for an article by me from the newspaper which last year published an interview with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

This discussion should start with a great event for the CPSU and the life of the Soviet people—the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The conference has, without exaggeration, drawn attention from throughout the world. This is understandable. The conference decisions are of great significance and are an inseparable part of the changes now taking place in the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, they serve as a great motivating force. The conference clearly reaffirmed that the restructuring with regard to domestic and foreign policies is correct and will be continued and developed.

In international affairs, we are reforming our foreign policy on the basis of a new political thinking. Its essence is to give priority to general human values in the present interrelated and interdependent world, to fully respect various interests as well as the freedom of every country and nation to determine their respective development, and to affirm the Soviet Union's readiness to have direct and broad contacts with representatives of other countries, from government circles to the public.

Thus, we can better see and understand the situation, make new proposals, and try to implement them.

Even though readers are certainly not interested only in Asian affairs, it is understandable that Asia-Pacific regional affairs are more interesting to them. Because of this, let me focus on Soviet policy in Asia and the Pacific.

Our restructuring policy in the Asia-Pacific region began with the Vladivostok program of July 1986, which was designed to guarantee peace, security, and equal and mutually beneficial cooperation. A year ago, the program was developed more completely and concretely by M.S. Gorbachev in his MERDEKA interview.

Two years are not a very long time. It is too early to draw any conclusions, but certain aspects can be examined.

In my opinion, the main thing is that the program has been welcomed, and the process of implementing it has begun.

The Soviet Union has taken concrete steps to relax tensions, reduce military confrontation, seek solutions to conflicts, and encourage and expand its participation in trade and economic activities in the region.

Political dialogue has been encouraged between the Soviet Union and Asian-Pacific countries within a very short period. Relations between the Soviet Union and its Asian neighbors have been steadily shaped by concrete significance.

In this connection, I should focus in greater detail on relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia. Lately, positive trends have further emerged and developed in relations between the two countries. First, this involves political dialogue, which may be elevated to a high level in the future. Expanded consultations, consolidated by protocols of the foreign affairs bodies of our two countries, have obviously shown that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Indonesia share similar views on present important global issues—to prevent nuclear war, control the arms race and its spread into outer space, and eliminate nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons—and on many other issues.

All this serves as a good basis for the development and enhancement of bilateral Soviet-Indonesian cooperation as well as within the framework of activities at various international fora.

In our opinion, there are many possibilities that have yet to be explored in trade and economic relations between the two countries. Let's see, is a trade volume of less than R100 million compatible with the potential and capacity of our countries, and is it not possible for each country to seek common interests to develop economic, scientific, and technical cooperation? I think these issues can be resolved, and certain steps have been taken in that direction—for instance, the recent visit by Indonesian Trade Minister Arifin Siregar to the Soviet Union and his meetings as well as talks in Moscow. The interest of Indonesian business circles in this is a positive precondition for developing our relations in the trade and economic fields. In this connection, I would like to say that we are always pleased to welcome Indonesian delegations to the Soviet land.

Stable progress is a special feature in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and India. Dialogue has been further developed and enhanced with Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, and Malaysia. Progress has been made in relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC. In this regard, basic reforms implemented by both countries in the economic field have further gained qualitative significance.

Thanks to contacts and negotiations between the Soviet Union and Asian countries, progress has been made in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust, good-neighborliness, and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Aspects of Economic and Technological Relations [subhead]

In our opinion, there are also good possibilities for the Soviet Union and most of the countries in the region to develop broad bilateral relations in the technical, trade, economic, scientific, and technological fields; the establishment of joint-venture companies and productive cooperatives; equipment leasing [preceding word in English]; the use of new sources of energy, including nuclear energy; the peaceful exploration of outer space; cooperation in checking the effects of natural disasters; and many other fields, including up-to-date [preceding word in English] sciences like biotechnology, robotics, and computer technology.

As a self-criticism, it must be admitted that our policy previously did not pay due attention to the regional aspects of economic, scientific, and technical relations in our policy. Now we are trying to make reforms.

The Soviet national committee in charge of Asia-Pacific economic cooperation, which was established some time ago, has the duties of encouraging normal forms of relationship and seeking new forms of relationships with Asia-Pacific countries as well as regional institutions.

It has performed its first duty, although much more must be done. However, all this benefits our respective peoples. This has undoubtedly enhanced our desire to most completely carry out our duty.

In view of the anxiety of the Asia-Pacific countries over the military situation in the region, the Soviet Union has not only drawn up and put forward a number of political and military proposals to reduce military tension, particularly in naval operations, but has also taken concrete steps, including those of a unilateral nature.

We took into account the position of Asian countries and included the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range guided missiles in the INF Treaty. The inclusion of the reduction of nuclear weapons in Asia in the treaty—the weapons have been used in this region—was the first concrete step toward nuclear disarmament in the region. We have assumed the obligation to guarantee the nuclear-free zone status of the South Pacific under the Rarotonga Treaty. The Soviet Union will be prepared to assume such responsibility for nuclear-weapon free zones in Southeast Asia and on the Korean peninsula if proposals for their establishment materialize on a reciprocal basis with the United States and other states possessing nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is prepared to announce the existence or absence of nuclear weapons on its warships entering ports of other countries. Should such an agreement be concluded, this would certainly enhance the authority and effectiveness of nuclear-free zones.

The Soviet Union has poured much energy and good will into concluding the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, which we are greatly convinced could serve as a good example for settling regional conflicts.

The Vladivostok program underlined the Soviet belief in the need to dismantle military blocs, reject foreign bases in Asia and the Pacific, and withdraw troops from other countries. At the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, the Soviet delegation proposed that the foreign military presence and military bases in other countries be abolished by 2000. We are prepared to assume this duty. Soviet troops are returning home from Afghanistan, and some of the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Mongolia. Our proposal for appropriate measures remains valid if the United States ends its military presence in the Philippines.

We realize that the situation in the Asia-Pacific region depends largely on Soviet and U.S. actions. Simultaneously, we can happily note the continued constructive role played by our Asian allies, partners, and neighbors in regional affairs.

The Soviet Union appreciates the positive response from many Asia-Pacific countries to the Soviet proposal for cooperation in improving the regional situation and in strengthening security and stability on the basis of a balance of interests. In this connection, the New Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world signed by the Soviet and Indian leaders is of great significance. The declaration is a guiding torch to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

We are witnessing how the Indochinese and ASEAN countries are stepping up efforts to settle the Cambodian issue. Hopes have gradually increased for a compromise as well as for an appropriate political solution. Now, many forces within and outside Cambodia are making efforts toward this goal.

Respect for ASEAN, Developments in Asia and the Pacific [subhead]

It is impossible to not accord due appreciation for the efforts of the ASEAN countries to initiate the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality as well as a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Southeast Asia; the unilateral reduction of the PRC Armed Forces by 1 million and the DPRK Armed Forces by 100,000; Australia's desire to initiate action in preventing the spread of chemical weapons into the Asia-Pacific region; and the MPR's firm stand on the conclusion of a nonuse of force and nonaggression pact among fellow Asia-Pacific countries.

As a whole, there have been symptomatic changes for the better in the region. But, at the same time, these changes have not taken place as fast as expected. Unlike Europe, the Pacific Ocean exhibits its peacefulness, which is basically not affected by complicated negotiations, particularly efforts to reduce military confrontations, take confidence-building measures, and reduce the arms race, especially that involving naval forces.

The process of developing guided nuclear missiles in the Asia-Pacific region, including cruise missiles on warships, is continuing, while there is an impending need from day to day for such talks. It is no coincidence that the documents of the Nonaligned Movement mention the danger of the storage of nuclear weapons in the Asia-Pacific region. The intensification of naval operations is very dangerous because the border of confrontation between a number of countries in the region, particularly between the Soviet Union and the United States, is in fact situated on the line of contact between the two fleets. This will in turn intensify the arms race involving ground forces. In this connection, a number of countries have been approaching the limit beyond which lies the massive militarization process.

Meanwhile, media campaigns are also launched to show that all the above-mentioned activities are meant as a reaction to the "Soviet military buildup in the Far East". Therefore, it is logical to pose this question: "If there are indeed fears of the so-called "Soviet threat", then why don't we start holding talks aimed at reducing military confrontation as well as creating mutual trust, talks that the Soviets have consistently offered?" I hope that MERDEKA readers are aware of this situation.

The Soviet military presence in the Asia-Pacific region is in accordance with its reasonable defense needs. However, the Soviet Union is ready to reduce its military presence if the United States gives a proper response to its offer.

We still expect changes in the U.S. approach. We are also formulating and presenting a new variety of compromises. Recently, we proposed to the United States the creation of a bilateral mechanism for talks at the level of military and political experts as well as for holding a meeting to discuss the reduction of military operations in the North Pacific. This will be followed by increasing acts of mutual trust in the South Pacific. After this, other countries in the region can also take part in the Soviet-U.S. talks.

However, by continuing to fabricate the old myth of the "giant Russian bear", the United States is trying to conceal its reluctance to hold constructive talks on military matters with us. It is no secret that the United States enjoys military superiority in the Asia-Pacific region and that it wishes to maintain the status quo.

We have no desire to compete with the United States as to who produces more aircraft carriers, warships, or cruisers, but apparently there are people who want to get us involved in the dangerous and costly arms race for naval superiority. Our experience in the strategic arms race as well as negotiations for reducing such arms races has enabled us to draw an important conclusion: That is to say, if we want to ensure the security of and reduce tension among countries, we must first of all utilize political will. It is heartening to note that there is an increasing understanding among Asian governments and communities on the significance of political and economic means to strengthen national security. Herewith, I wish to particularly stress that the Soviet Union is not seeking any special position or rights in Asia.

In its efforts to implement its accelerated development program in the Far East, the Soviet Union has formulated a special, long-term state program. The Soviet Union has an interest in securing political stability and military reconciliation with countries in the Pacific and in promoting extensive economic, technical, and scientific cooperation with all neighboring countries in Asia.

The world is an undivided entity. It is very important to be able to reach such a conclusion in this age, where the existence of mighty military forces can bury the human civilization. Therefore, we attach great importance to the process of strengthening peace and security and the furtherance of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific and other regions.

An Invitation to All Countries [subhead]

As stressed by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech, the Vladivostok program is an invitation directed to all countries, nations, and governments in the region. It is an invitation to contribute ideas and to search for new initiatives for interaction. It is our belief that the way leading to a solid security arrangement and extensive cooperation in the Asia-Pacific can only be made possible through joint efforts and the collective ideas of all countries in the region. In this connection, we pin our hopes on the holding of an international forum entitled: "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation" at the end of this year in Vladivostok, to be attended by outstanding political and community leaders, businessmen, scientists, and cultural leaders from the Asia-Pacific region.

In concluding this article, I wish all MERDEKA readers and the Indonesian people happiness, prosperity, and peace.

Daily Urges Indian Ocean's Demilitarization

PM0308141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Oleg Skalkin "Viewpoint": "Expecting Fresh Winds"]

[Excerpts] The recent meeting in New York of the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean continued an epic effort in international relations, which, despite the apparent secondary importance of the matter at hand, affects the very essence of the problems currently facing mankind. These problems are nuclear disarmament, the easing of international tension, and the normalization of interstate relations. Without their constructive solution, neither stability nor genuine security can be achieved in the world today. [passage omitted]

The world is indivisible and interconnected. It is also waiting to see how the United States behaves under the new conditions, in which new thinking and new approaches to international problems are becoming more and more powerful. This is the case, for example, with the flames of conflict in Afghanistan, which have been fanned for many years by the West. The policy of national reconciliation and the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan are depriving the United States of its "justification" for increasing militarist preparations in the region. And, naturally, the world community expects, as was made clear at the last session of the Special Committee on the Indian Ocean, the positive developments in international affairs to also impart momentum to efforts to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Time will tell to what extent U.S. political intentions are consonant with the times and their demands.

The struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is part and parcel of the overall struggle for disarmament and for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security to which the efforts of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are geared. The USSR is consistently advocating stronger military-political stability in the Indian Ocean region and supports the earliest convening of an international conference to implement the UN declaration on proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

The demilitarization of the Indian Ocean must be set in motion. There is no time to lose.

Bank Aide Cited on Credit Card Agreement

PM0308095988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "To Safeguard Money and Nerves"]

[Text] "The credit card has come to stay for a long time, to be the money of the future." These are the words of Sven A. Cason, chairman of the Swedish joint stock company Eurocard AB." Indeed, in dozens of countries, payment by credit card has become an important feature of the modern system of payment. In the socialist countries, it so far operates only in Hungary. But soon it will also begin in the Soviet Union. At least representatives of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and the world's largest payment system, "Eurocard-Mastercard-Eurocheque," who signed an unprecedented cooperation agreement 30 July at Moscow's international trade center, are confident of this.

"Our work," N. Svirıdov, a leading consultant with the administration of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity for organizing export, import, and nontrade transactions accounts, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent, "will pass through a number of stages. First the credit cards themselves will be issued. We will initially supply them to citizens coming to our country from abroad. With the aid of the cards, they will be able to pay for goods and services at hotels, restaurants, and stores. We will then already have been linked up with the Eurocard-Mastercard system.

"In the second stage credit cards will be issued to Soviet organizations. For instance, IZVESTIYA journalists going on trips abroad will no longer have to take currency with them. Your organization will merely need to have an account with our bank, which is linked to the international payment system. The card owner enjoys several privileges. Where necessary, for instance, he will be supplied with an immediate cash advance."

"And what do the credit cards themselves look like?"

"I will note the two main types—the 'Gold Card' and the 'Silver Card.' They are small. The gold (personal) card has special codes, a magnetic strip, and a hologram which rules out forgery. Powerful computers will within seconds check to see whether it is yours and immediately link up with their 'black list.'

"The silver card is for the specific business needs of companies, firms, and organizations."

A. Ziegler, chairman of the board of Mastercard, speaks:

"The agreement is very important on both the economic and the political planes. Soviet citizens are traveling abroad increasingly frequently. Why take cash with them—it could be stolen or eventually lost. We have offered an effective means of saving money, worry, and time."

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Carlucci Visit, Activities

Arrives in Crimea 3 Aug

PM0408090388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Continues"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On 3 August U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, left Moscow for a tour of the country.

At Sheremetevo airport the guest and those accompanying him were seen off by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General K.A. Kochetov, commander of the Moscow Military District; and other officials.

Among the send-off party were J. Matlock, U.S. ambassdor to the USSR, and Brigadier General E. Rokke, defense attache.

During his trip the guest from the United States is being accompanied by Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister.

On the same day U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci arrived in Simferopol. At the airport the guest and those accompanying him were met by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister; Admiral M.N. Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea Fleet; and other officials.

Yazov Attends Dinner

LD0308174088 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Sevastopol August 3 TASS—After the familiarization with Yalta, in the south of the Ukraine, a U.S. delegation headed by U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci today arrived by sea in Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Fleet. The U.S. defense secretary paid a visit to commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet Admiral Mikhail Khronopulo and went sightseeing in the city.

The word Sevastopol is Greek for a city worthy of admiration. None other city has undergone within a relatively short period of time two brutal and devastative seiges (Sevastopol exists for just over 200 years). The city was burnt down during the Crimean War of 1853-1856 and during the Second World War. And each time it was rebuilt by people.

Sevastopol is now a large industrial, scientific and cultural centre in the south of the USSR. Large-capacity floating cranes manufactured in Sevastopol operate in many ports the world over. Products manufactured in Sevastopol are exported to dozens of countries. Sevastopol has been awarded the title of Hero City for the courage and valour shown by its people, soldiers of the Army and the Navy during the Great Patriotic War.

Frank Carlucci saw the panoramic replica of the storm of Mount Sapun on May 7, 1944 and placed flowers at the Obelisk of Glory at the eternal fire on Mount Sapun.

Admiral Khronopulo gave a dinner in honour of the distinguished guest. The dinner was attended by USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov.

Talks Held With Gromyko

PM0408092388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Between A.A. Gromyko and F. Carlucci"]

[Text] The U.S. defense secretary's present visit to our country is the first in the history of relations between our two countries. This is a fact which the eminent guest has been emphasizing during his official visit to the Soviet Union.

A.A. Gromyko, who is vacationing in the Crimea, received the guest—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci—in Yalta on 3 August. A detailed conversation was held, during which opinions were exchanged on some questions of Soviet-U.S. relations. There was also an examination of the role of the USSR and the United States in the modern world, the state of talks between them, particularly on problems of disarmament, and the possible steps by the two countries toward reducing the danger of war.

At the beginning of the conversation, Frank Carlucci pointed out that between the USSR and the United States there is now a frank, productive dialogue, the best since the end of the World War II. This does not mean that there are no differences. But, at the same time, there is increasingly more common ground. Among other things, in the military field where a joint working group has been set up to prevent military clashes and a program of exchanges has been worked out, including the provision for visits by vessels next year. The secretary for defense reiterated the U.S. intention to continue the intensive joint search for solutions to problems, including those which are being discussed at the nuclear disarmament talks. At the same time, he repeated Washington's well-known position on SDI, which the mass media describe as the "Star Wars" program.

Andrey Gromyko stressed that for the Soviet Union the desire for peace is dictated both by the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy and by the exigencies of the restructuring at work in the country.

He said that the individual aspects of disarmament each have significance in their own way. This is true of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of nuclear tests, the destruction of chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional arms, and other aspects. However, the problem of problems today is that of liquidating nuclear arms. The reduction of nuclear arms has now begun, and it is necessary to come to the end result—their complete elimination. The step made by our two countries, which have concluded the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and have already begun to implement it, is of exceptional importance.

Now the Soviet Union attaches immense significance to the talks on strategic offensive arms. It hopes for their success. But one cannot help expressing concern over their so far still slow progress. The USSR calls on the American side to appreciate the significance of this problem in order to breathe fresh energy into these talks. The more that the present administration does, even before the presidential elections, the better it will be for the cause of peace.

The Soviet Union deems it necessary to totally exclude even the possibility of war from relations between the two countries. It is also necessary to exclude it from relations between the two military groupings—the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

In response to the remark of the guest that a lack of confidence generates armament, Andrey Gromyko noted that one could elaborate on this idea. It is not possible to put everything where it belongs: here—mistrust, and there—armament. Everything is intertwined in real life. It is necessary to work for disarming and building confidence in one another simultaneously. They are two sides of a single process.

Frank Carlucci: You were right when you noted that it is necessary to get nuclear weapons out of the way. This is our main idea, too. At the same time, we support the reduction of conventional armaments as well.

A.A. Gromyko: Concerning conventional arms, the talks on them have so far been sluggish. It seems to us that your country still has a no small potential to pursue them with greater vigor.

Resolution was expressed by the Soviet side to make a maximum effort in order that the agreements, which have already been reached during the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the U.S. President Ronald Reagan, will be complemented by new ones pertaining to the sphere of security and covered by the talks now in progress.

The Soviet Union wishes to develop good relations with the United States—this main idea directed the entire conversation. Let us arrange things in a manner, Andrey Gromyko said, so that your arm is never lifted against us and ours—against you. Moreover, we are two powers. If we wish, then together, we can prevent a military catastrophe for good. This is precisely what Mikhail Gorbachev repeatedly called for during his meetings with Ronald Reagan.

The American interlocutor agreed with this.

You will do right, Andrey Gromyko concluded, if following your return to the United States you tell the President and the American people that the Soviet Union highly appreciates the signs of improved relations between the two countries and intends to do all it that can to ensure that these relations can be furthered in the direction that has taken shape.

USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, also took part in the conversation.

Continues Sevastopol Tour

LD0408120288 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Sevastopol August 4 TASS—Today, on the second day of his visit to Sevastopol, U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci staying in the USSR at the invitation of USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, continued the tour of the hero city and the fleet.

The high guest and his party visited the missile cruiser Slava, one of the modern warships of the Soviet Navy. Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, had called its crew among the best on the eve of the holiday of Soviet military sailors which was marked on the last Sunday of July.

The warship is equipped with all necessary things to fulfill the tasks of endurance cruising in the world ocean. Frank Carlucci inspected the ship's departments and received information about its armaments. Exhaustive replies were given to all questions.

The U.S. defense secretary also inspected the panorama "Defence of Sevastopol in 1854-1855". It was created by Frants Rubo, a talented Russian painter of battle-pieces, in 1905. The panorama's building was almost completely destroyed during the Second World War. However, city defenders risking their lives carried away the painting by parts under enemy fire. After the war it was partially restored. But it was impossible to preserve the original in full, therefore, Soviet painters of battle-pieces made anew the huge canvas. The panorama was opened again in 1954 for the 100th anniversary of the first heroic defence of the city during the Crimean War.

After seeing the panorama, the U.S. defense secretary made an entry in the distinguished visitors' book where he expressed his profound respect for the heroic actions of Sevastopol defenders.

Then a seeing-off ceremony of the U.S. defense secretary was held in the city's central square named after Russian Admiral Nakhimov. The state flags of the USA, the USSR and the Ukrainian Republic were hoisted, the guard of honour was lined up and the anthems of the two countries were rendered. The seeing-off ceremony was attended by General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, Admiral of the Fleet Mikhail Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, and other officials.

Correction to Carlucci News Conference Remarks

The following correction pertains to the item subheaded "Further on Remarks," published in the 3 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 12:

Column one, paragraph three, line two reads: "...were of a sincere, open nature. In particular, the..." (rewording)

Reagan Vetoes Draft Military Budget

LD0308180388 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 3 TASS—President Reagan Wednesday vetoed the draft law on the Pentagon's military expenditures in the 1989 fiscal year endorsed by the Congress. The head of the White House declared that structural changes in the draft military budget of the administration made by the Congress will jeopardize diplomatic and strategic advantages connected with the present military might of the USA, will interfere with the work on SDI programme and continuation of the modernisation of the U.S. strategic nuclear forces.

The total size of military expenditures endorsed by the Congress differs little from what was requested by the Pentagon.

Pentagon Report on Iranian Plane Downing Cited

LD0408064988 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 4 Aug 88

["Report on Tragic Accident in the Gulf"—TASS headline]

[Text] New York August 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Mostovetys:

A group of Pentagon military experts completed compilation of a report setting out the results of an investigation of the downing by the U.S. cruiser Vincennes of the Iranian passenger plane with 298 people aboard.

Referring to Pentagon sources, the newspaper "NEW YORK TIMES" reports that the findings of the report reduce the reason for the tragedy in the Persian Gulf to an "error" committed by operators of the Vincennes' sophisticated radar system, who "confused" the passenger plane with an "attacking Iranian fighter". On receiving an incorrect information, the captain acted, in experts' opinion, in line with available instructions. An "error" of operators who took the giant airbus for a fighter, is attributed to a "psychological stress" caused by a tense situation in which the Vincennes crew was in the Gulf.

At the same time it is clear from the article carried by "THE NEW YORK TIMES that the report refutes the Pentagon's former statements alleging that the jetliner was nose-diving at the time of its destruction and was at an altitude of 2,250 metres, that is created an effect of an attack. According to experts, the investigation showed that during the accident the Iranian jetliner was picking up speed and altitude and was at an altitude of 3,600 metres over the Persian Gulf, that is actually was not dangerous militarily for the U.S. cruiser. [sentence as received]

According to a Pentagon spokesman, the report will be studied by the command of the U.S. Armed Forces and then presented for approval to Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci. Later this month the Pentagon intends to publish an unclassified part of the report.

Bush Foreign Policy Platform Viewed

LD0308150688 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 3 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

The Vice President George Bush—the most likely candidate for U.S. Presidency from the Republican Party—has spoken out on a number of questions of the U.S. military policy. In his speech on Tuesday in Chicago before representatives of the business community he said that, if he is elected president, he would be committed to deployment of the SDI (i.e., carry out the "Star Wars" programme—note by TASS) as soon as this becomes possible. Bush said that he would decide on the precise structure of the system already during the first tenure of his incumbency.

Bush's speech in Chicago is regarded here as the exposition by the vice president of his foreign policy platform which he will hold to at the closing stage of the presidential campaign. In many ways the speech was in the nature of self-advertising. Thus, Bush asserted that he and President Reagan, after they took office in 1981, restored the national defence of the United States, modernised the strategic nuclear forces and deployed intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

And at the same time the speech was in many ways a contradictory one. On the one hand, the vice president said he would continue modernising the American nuclear arsenals. According to Bush, halting modernisation of the U.S. strategic deterrence forces would amount to a unilateral disarmament and to making the United

States increasingly vulnerable. On the other, Bush promised to continue talks on arms control with the Soviet Union and also pointed out that he intended to give much attention to conventional arms reductions in Europe.

The vice president said his administration would try to achieve an end to shipments of ballistic missiles to "Third World" countries and would strive for the establishment of international control over the spread of the technology for manufacturing such missiles. He made clear in the process that this control would not cover Israel. Bush said he took pride in the fact that the United States and Israel were developing jointly a missile system of defence against tactical missiles. In his words the USA would remain committed to beefing up the security of its Middle Eastern strategic ally.

According to recent public opinion polls, in popularity among voters Bush is slightly trailing behind the Democrat Michael Dukakis, his competitor in the race for Presidency. That is why the efforts of the strategists of the presidential campaign of the Republican Party now aim at closing the gap, laying the main emphasis on Bush's experience in foreign policy.

U.S. Union Official Comments on USSR Visit

PM0308140988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
30 Jul 88 p4

[Report on interview with Mary Ann Peterson, vice president of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, by I. Belov under the heading "Ties Must Be Bilateral"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A group of representatives of industrial labor unions from states on the U.S. west coast have completed their visit to our country. The guests visited Moscow, Tbilisi, and Volgograd and were interested to learn about Soviet trade unions' sphere of activity and their experience in solving economic and social issues. Summing up the results of the trip, Mary Ann Peterson, leader of the delgation and vice president of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, noted the following in a conversation with our TRUD correspondent:

"There is no doubt that the exchange of labor union delegations between our countries contributes to better mutual understanding between Soviet people and Americans. I myself have been to the Soviet Union before. I am quite sure that visits like these have helped many of my compatriots, coming into contact with your country for the first time, to take a more objective view of the achievements and problems characteristic of Soviet society.

"Soviet people always leave a most favorable impression on us: They are sincere, hospitable, and reasonably self-critical. We are impressed by their active commitment to peace and disarmament.

"Over the next '5-year period' I am planning to visit the Soviet Union as head of labor union delegations every year. But the development and deepening of trade union ties between the Soviet Union and the United States must not be a 'one-way street.' We would very much like to see delegations of Soviet workers and employees visiting our country equally frequently and meeting Americans equally freely. There are still some rough edges to smooth in this respect. And it is certainly not the Soviet side that is to blame. Not less than a month ago, thanks to officials from the U.S. State Department, someone tried to prevent members of a Soviet working delegation to California from establishing personal contact with ordinary American citizens who had invited the guests to their homes.

"The top AFL-CIO leadership has also taken an unconstructive attitude to the question of developing ties between members of our countries' trade unions. In my opinion, this is largely explained by 'fear of the unknown.' They also often use the 'argument' that trade unions in the USSR are 'carriers of hostile communist ideology.' I think it is time to reject this kind of dogma and recognize that we must not raise ideological differences to the level of absolutes. Even the leaders of our countries have found a common language increasingly often lately, and, after all, ideological differences hold far greater significance for professional politicians. I think that L. Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, should, after 30 years of presidency, finally get around to going to the Soviet Union, where he can see everything for himself and talk to people. He would realize that many of his ideas about this country are wrong and that his policies are hopelessly out of date."

Gorbachev Replies to U.S. Children's Letter

LD3107223288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 31 July, as part of the "Vremya" newscast, carries a video report by B. Kostenko on the visit to the Baytik Soviet-U.S. children's camp in the Moscow Oblast town of Troitskiy by a group of U.S. schoolchildren from Oakland, California. The visit was organized within the framework of the joint program "Children Toward the Third Millenium."

Kostenko says: "The children of the camp sent a letter to Mikhail Sergeyivich and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbachev, and here is the reply they received: We very much liked your idea of creating an international computer camp in which children from different countries of the world could learn and relax. May this camp become the first step in this new and wonderful cause."

China

Chinese People's Liberation Army History Viewed

PM0408083188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[I. Volozhanin article: "Chinese Army: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"]

[Text] The PRC celebrates the founding of the People's Liberation Army [PLA] 1 August. Set up and led by the CPC, the Chinese PLA played an important role in the Chinese people's revolutionary movement. In contrast to the reactionary Kuomintang forces and the Chinese militarist armed groupings, the PLA was set up as a new kind of army and as a military organization which was genuinely popular in character.

From the moment it was created in 1927 the Chinese PLA followed a difficult and heroic path. A path marked not only by the joys of victory but also by the bitterness of defeats and failures and by the heroic sacrifices of thousands and thousands of the Chinese people's best sons and daughters. In the 1920's and 1930's the CPC and the Chinese PLA were given extensive opportunities to adopt everything of value which the USSR Armed Forces had by then accumulated in theory and practice. Utilizing this experience in accordance with the specific conditions of their own country, the Chinese Communists, despite all the objective and subjective difficulties, coped extremely efficiently with the tasks of forming an organizational and political basis for developing the People's Army which not only ensured the successful conduct of combat operations but also helped to win wide support for it among the Chinese working masses.

The Long March (1934-1935), in which the CPC forces marched more than 12,000 km from central and southern to northwest China, was an outstanding page in the Chinese PLA's military chronicle. During this march future PRC marshals Zhu De and Liu Bocheng and other Communist military leaders showed their talents as military leaders.

When the war of resistance against the Japanese aggressors began, Chinese PLA units and formations joined the national armed forces while remaining independent in their actions. According to Chinese military historians, during the 8 years of the anti-Japanese war the Communist-led 8th Army and new 4th Army conducted more than 125,000 battles and engagements, put out of action more than 1,714,000 enemy soldiers and officers, and liberated a significant part of the country's territory where 130 million people lived.

By crushing one of the largest Japanese groupings—the Kwantung Army—the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces contributed to completing the rout of Japan. This was very significant for the further development of the Chinese revolution and the strengthening of the Chinese PLA's combat might. The Soviet side passed on to the CPC forces in Manchuria a large quantity of captured Japanese weapons and combat equipment, and also some of its own stocks of weapons. Reorganized and strengthened from the military and technical standpoint, the Chinese PLA successfully repulsed the onslaught of the armed forces of the Kuomintang government, which, with U.S. support, was aiming to kindle civil war and smother the people's democratic revolution, and then successfully resolved the strategic task of routing them and liberating the main territory of China. This military victory ensured the conditions for the transfer of power to the people.

After the formation of the PRC in 1949, a new stage in the development of the Chinese PLA began. The strengthening of the young socialist state's defense potential is also indissolubly linked with the Soviet Union's assistance and the relations of friendship and cooperation which existed between our countries in the 1950's. Today the PRC recognizes that this was one of the most fruitful periods of its development, including from the military viewpoint. Life has shown that, despite the omissions and deviations stemming from internal and external causes, the process of the formation of PRC national defenses was in the general mainstream of world military-technical progress and assisted in strengthening the country's security.

Unfortunately, mistakes by the CPC leadership in its policy in the 1960's and 1970's significantly hindered modernization in the PRC and inflicted, as the Chinese press notes, "an unprecedentedly severe blow on the army's development."

The socioeconomic and political transformations which began in China when the new leadership came to power in the party and state have had a profound influence on the development of the Chinese PLA in the last decade. The country's modernization program, which was advanced in the late 1970's and confirmed in the decisions of the 13th CPC Congress (1987), also envisages quite a serious reform in military development. The realistic conclusion drawn by the CPC leaders that the weakness of China's financial and economic base does not at present permit the simultaneous successful development of the national economy, and the extended buildup of military potential played an important role in the formulation of this reform.

Following official guidelines, Chinese scholars, theorists, and specialists are vigorously formulating and propagandizing the idea of the overriding importance of economic potential in ensuring the country's security. This idea is gradually being implemented in the development of the armed forces. The transfer of the Chinese PLA from an extensive to an intensive path of development is attested by the reduction in numerical strength, the change and improvement in the structure and organization of the troops and naval forces, and the priority given not to the quantity but the quality of the arms produced. Judging by reports in the Chinese press, the policy of modernizing the army has already produced positive results: Over the last 10 years the troops have acquired many new types and models of arms and combat equipment, and the quality of the cadres and the level of combat and special training of privates and junior officers have noticeably improved.

At the same time the Chinese PLA command does not conceal the serious unsolved problems in the army, both those inherited from the "cultural revolution" and the new ones which have emerged during the present reforms. Recently in this regard much attention has been paid to stepping up efficiency in ideological education work and to propaganda of the army's combat and revolutionary traditions during the period from the twenties through the forties. The central task is to cultivate in Chinese servicemen belief in the successful implementation of the country's "socialist modernization" and to step up personal responsibility in fulfilling their official and civic duty.

The latest anniversary of the Chinese PLA's creation is being observed today without the former ceremonial ballyhoo typical in the old days. Obviously, this atmosphere is more conducive to the calm and sober interpretation of the highly complex path taken by the army over more than 6 decades. Along with all Chinese working people, the Soviet people pay tribute to the Chinese PLA fighters and commanders, both living and dead, who selflessly fought for the national and social liberation of their people.

Northeast Asia

Commentator Discusses Security for Seoul Olympics

SK0408080088 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Commentary by station commentator Andrey Ilynin]

[Text] In connection with [words indistinct] of the 24th Summer Olympics, station commentator Andrey Illynin writes as follows:

The overwhelming goal of the South Korean Government is [word indistinct] related to the Olympic Preparatory Committee and its steps to guarantee security for the Olympics. Instructing members of the cabinet and other government officials recently, No Tae-u, president of this country, stressed the need to enhance vigilance and to take steps for the security of the Olympics, while indicating that ensuring the security of the international games is one of the most important problems related to the games.

Referring to the training of members of his unit, Yu Wan-sik, chief of the Olympics Security Unit, who is also a leader of the special commando forces, said: What we have done reminds us of war preparations. He is training 120,000 policemen and military soldiers.

All of the South Korean Army troops, which are under a state of combat readiness, and the U.S. [word indistinct] troops (?deployed in South Korea) can also be mobilized during the Olympics if necessary. In addition, U.S. naval forces, including aircraft carrier units, will be deployed during the games. There have been reports that F-18 fighters will move into South Korea from Japan.

According to a report of [word indistinct] news agency, when he visited Seoul (William Redberg), who was a security officer for the Los Angeles Olympics, said that security steps being taken here in Seoul are much more than those in Los Angeles in the past.

This will be a hindrance to the free movement of 640,000 Olympic guests.

As reported by a newspaper in Seoul, if athletes from the DPRK participate in the games, it is said they will undergo more strict (?security steps) than athletes from other countries. Seoul views the DPRK as the source of terrorism and the destroyer of security. Frankly speaking, however, the DPRK pays greater attention to its own security. This is even more true considering the fact that South Korea and its allies have strengthened military forces under the pretext of security for the Olympics.

It seems that the South Korean authorities are more afraid of an eruption of the dissatisfaction of their own people, rather than a threat from the North. This has been proven by the fact that a (?law) banning demonstrations in and around the venues of Olympic sporting events has been adopted recently. According to this step, demonstrations are prohibited in all areas without the authorities' permission.

University students, who [words indistinct] have expressed their will to continue the struggle for democratic reforms even during the Olympics. Some 75 university students who have been invited to participate in the opening ceremony of the Olympic games have rejected the invitation [words indistinct].

Foreign athletes and foreign guests, are also expressing deep concern about the security of the games. [Name indistinct], who became the champion in the 110-meter race in the 1984 Olympics, said that his life is more precious than a gold medal. He said that he is afraid to participate in the Seoul Olympics [words indistinct]. A reporter for the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT said that [words indistinct].

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further Reportage on Bogor Talks on Cambodia

Official Statement

LD0308185988 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 3 Aug 88

["USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The USSR Foreign Ministry today issued a statement which says:

An informal meeting between Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea Hun Sen and leaders of the three Khmer opposition groups was held in Bogor, Indonesia, on July 25-28. Representatives of Vietnam, Laos, and ASEAN countries took part in the second stage of the meeting. Khmer participants in the informal meeting also held an exchange of opinions with Prince Norodom Sihanouk who was staying in Jakarta as a guest of the Indonesian president.

Questions about ways of achieving national reconciliation in Kampuchea, settling the situation regarding that country, stabilization of the situation in the region were discussed at the meeting. The head of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea advanced a concrete programme of peace settlement in Kampuchea. A delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic submitted proposals aimed at a political solution to the Kampuchean problem, consolidation of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

During the informal meeting, agreement was reached that withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, prevention of the repetition in future of the policy and practice of genocide of the Pol Pot regime, as well as an end to any foreign interference in internal affairs of Kampuchea are related key questions. It was decided to form a working group of high-placed representatives of the participating countries to study various aspects of the Kampuchean settlement and prepare recommendations for a new meeting of this kind. Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk agreed to meet again in Paris in October.

The Soviet Union welcomes the arrangements achieved in Bogor and views the informal meeting as a further development of the dialogue to find such solutions as would meet the aspirations of the Kampuchean people and promote the normalisation of the situation in Southeast Asia. The meeting has been a new step toward a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. It reflected the awareness of all the parties involved in the conflict of the fact that there is no alternative to a political solution of the problem.

It is important that representatives of the four Kampuchean parties gathered for the first time thus starting a direct dialogue with a view to achieving mutually acceptable compromises and creating conditions for the solution of internal problems of Kampuchea by Kampucheans themselves.

The meeting has become possible due to a consistent constructive line of the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic to a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem in the interests of peace and security in the region. The decisions about the withdrawal from Kampuchea of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers before the end of 1988 and about complete withdrawal of volunteer forces by the end of 1989 or in the first quarter of 1990 have been of special importance in this respect. This has resulted in qualitative changes in the situation regarding the Kampuchean problem and created a favourable background for the meeting in Bogor. Indonesia and some other ASEAN countries exerted considerable efforts to organise the meeting.

Practical assistance to the assertion of the tendency to realism, to the stepping up of the efforts to restore peace and achieve national reconciliation in Kampuchea assumes special topicality now. It is important to keep from actions and steps that could undermine the process of coordinating interests of the four Kampuchean sides and states concerned that started in Bogor. Not a single opportunity on the road to the solution of the Kampuchean problem should be let slip. This could also be promoted by direct talks between China and Vietnam in favour of which the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam declared more than once.

On its part the Soviet Union expresses the readiness to contribute together with all the states concerned to the development of the process of the settlement of the situation regarding Kampuchea, of the improvement of the political climate in Southeast Asia as a whole.

Analysis of Meeting

BK0408034588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Commentary by radio commentator Vladimir Korolov]

[Text] Papers around the world have headlined the events in Bogor, Indonesia, and people are still interested in recent events there. This is not surprising, since the meeting helped find a solution to the conflict in Cambodia. Attending the meeting in Bogor were the PRK Government, the three opposing Cambodian parties, Vietnam, Laos, and the six ASEAN countries—Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Brunei.

Those who know little about the situation in Southeast Asia were not expecting the participants' to have contradictory views at this meeting. However, that is what the Cambodian problem is all about. To resolve this issue, the PRK Government proposed a national reconciliation program and also proposed that the opposing Cambodian parties sit at the negotiating table to discuss ways to create peace in Cambodia. The road in Bogor was a difficult one but the meeting was concluded with an understanding of the necessity to take into account the interests of the concerned parties. Good judgment and new ideas concerning international events emerged.

In the same vein, let us recall the initiative of Vietnam and Indonesia, which have done everything to invite all parties to Bogor. Vietnam and Indonesia are in different groups of countries. Vietnam and the other two Indochinese countries, Laos and Cambodia, have put forward many proposals aimed at stabilizing the situation in the region. The ASEAN countries, including Indonesia, see

Southeast Asia's peaceful future from a different perspective. However, everyone affirms that agreement and good-neighborliness in the region depend on a solution to the Cambodian problem. It is true that they did not share the same views in Bogor, but participants agreed that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the guarantee that the Pol Pot group does not return to power in Cambodia are two major issues which are interrelated. Thus, the principle of a solution to the Cambodian problem has emerged. All obstacles have not been eliminated in Bogor, but, as people have said, this is a valuable step.

TV Documentary Depicts Cambodian Situation

OW0308133188 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0220 GMT on 30 July carries a scheduled 55-minute documentary, entitled "A New House in the Land of Angkor." The program is presented by Sergey Alekseyev and begins with shots of an old man awaiting the return of his son who has been fighting with the Pol Pot forces. Video then shows general shots of rural Cambodia, peasants and fishermen at work, and brief interviews with villagers speaking about the vastly improved living conditions. Shots are shown of villagers engaged in building new houses, cutting to shots of city markets filled with an abundance of fresh food, vegetables, and fruit. The viewers are then shown a typical wedding, cutting to shots of night life in the capital and brief visits to several enterprises.

One of the enterprises visited is a small manufacturing concern engaged in making tires. This factory was originally built at the initiative of Prince Sihanouk. The manager of the enterprise complains about lack of skilled labor, spare parts, and materials. Several other small enterprises are visited, all of which are working far below their capacity due to the shortage of energy and materials. Alekseyev says that the recovery of the country is severely handicapped by Pol Potists and their foreign backers.

Video then cuts to show Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, sitting behind a desk speaking in Khmer, fading into Russian translation. Hun Sen says: "Unfortunately, like before, the situation in Cambodia continues to be half peace and half war. Armed clashes which take place on the border and in other regions of the country are causing much damage. The continuous conflict drains the country, diverting forces which could be used for rebuilding the country into defending the country.

"Motivated by goodwill, a high sense of responsibility for the future of our motherland, and the sacred aspirations of the people of Cambodia, the party and Government of People's Kampuchea have announced a policy of national reconciliation. Its main goal is to stop the blood-letting, the attainment of a national consensus by way of dialogue with the opposition, and the return and reunion of thousands of Khmers who have found themselves on the other side of the barricades with their relatives. This applies to all with the exception of the criminal Pol Pot and his closest followers. The object is the unification of all human resources, as well as material and spiritual forces, for the purpose of building an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia."

Alekseyev is then heard to say that the process of national reconciliation began after the well-known speech made by Gorbachev in Vladivostok. He then asks: "Comrade Hun Sen, several months have elapsed since the Government of the PRK announced the beginning of the national reconciliation policy. Understandably, it is still too early to draw any conclusions. Nevertheless, what are the achievements of this policy to date? What are the difficulties encountered by the republic?"

Hun sen says: "We see it as a good sign that recently many opposition members have abandoned the enemy, that preparations for the repatriation of Cambodian refugees from Thailand has begun—more than 20,000 have already returned and some 250,000 remain. Khmers living in foreign lands have enthusiastically voiced their support for the policy of national reconciliation. They are now actively engaged in reconstruction of the motherland. The broadest possible international circles have expressed support for the course adopted by the PRK Government. As far as the problems that remain, they are, perhaps, related to the unwillingness to rethink the situation of some of the leaders of opposition groups as well as some countries which have become involved in the conflict."

The video moves on to show file film of the 1987 meeting between Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk near Paris. As the video shows the two leaders speaking, debating, and answering questions from journalists, Alekseyev's voice is heard to say that despite opposition, difficulties, and other obstacles, the thaw has begun. Even so, the demands made by Sihanouk were not acceptable because he tried to get everything the opposition forces had failed to achieve by force of arms. Alekseyev says that the demands made were quite unacceptable. Instead, the PRK representatives proposed the following: "Let us honestly, with joint efforts, create an election committee. These elections will take place under strict international control. Following this, the elected National Assembly will adopt a new constitution, and determine the political system of Cambodia and the make-up of the coalition government. Could anything be more fair or just?"

Video focuses once again on Hun Sen speaking in Khmer, fading into Russian translation. Hun Sen says: "On the whole, good results were achieved at the meetings with Prince Sihanouk. These meetings brought the question of the political solution to the Cambodian problem out of its present dead end. Specific discussions of the main questions on which decisions depend have already begun. This includes the schedule of the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, prospects for the creation of a coalition government, the question of Cambodia's political future and its status in the international arena, as well as the problem of international guarantees to ensure peaceful normalization.

"Unfortunately, we have not been able as yet to remove from the agenda Sihanouk's demand that the present PRK Government should resign. But, we are patient."

Alekseyev goes on to say that after the interview, Hun Sen asked him not to overestimate the importance of the two meetings with Sihanouk, because much is yet to be achieved and because the status of Sihanouk is now in question. "Nevertheless," says Alekseyev, "the first steps from confrontation to dialogue have been taken. These steps were far from easy. They were made possible, and this has been recognized by an overwhelming majority of the country, thanks to the goodwill of the countries of Indochina: Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. It was thanks to their consistent course directed at lowering tension in Southeast Asia and solving contentious questions at the negotiating table. How to stop the blood bath? How to unite the healthy national forces so that peace can return to the land of Angkor? The Government of the PRK provided a clear answer to these questions when it announced its policy of national reconciliation."

Video then cuts to show a number of refugee camps on the Thai side of the border housing supporters of Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Pol Pot. Alekseyev says that many have been here for years, some were brought here by force, others induced to come by lies.

The video continues by showing file film of Sihanouk's political career. Alekseyev recounts Sihanouk's career and exile and says that he, unlike many deposed monarchs, has remained in the public eye and that his mistakes "have not nullified his contributions to the cause of Cambodian independence."

Alekseyev then introduces Kampong Som, which he describes as the second largest city in Cambodia, showing market places full of imported goods from Thailand, despite the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Alekseyev interviews a number of people, beginning with a 50-year-old peasant who is now attending literacy courses. The peasant expresses support for the present government and says that he does not care if Sihanouk returns or not. The director of an orphanage says that she supports the policy of national reconciliation and therefore would like to see Sihanouk back. Video then shows an interview with an abbot of a monastery. He says: "Thousands of Khmer Buddhists fully support the policy of national reconciliation. This policy will unify all our people irrespective of their political convictions and views and will unite them for the sake of the higher goals of our motherland and the interests of mankind. This will increase Cambodia's prestige in the world. Sihanouk has done much for peace in this country and for the development of Buddhism in Cambodia. His return will be of benefit to believers as well as to the Cambodian public as a whole."

An interview with a young historian who works in the state library follows. The historian recalls the terrible times of the Pol Pot regime but his recollections of Sihanouk are vague. He does, however, believe that Sihanouk "has done much for the culture of the country" and therefore he would welcome the prince back.

Video then cuts to show file films of Vietnamese units being welcomed by the population with Alekseyev recounting the historical cooperation of the Vietnamese and the Khmer people, and the aid rendered by the Vietnamese in liberating the Khmers first from colonialism and later from Pol Pot oppression.

Video cuts to Alekseyev interviewing Nguyen Co Thach, SRV Minister of Foreign Affairs, who speaks in Vietnamese, fading into Russian translation. He says: "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, from the bottom of its heart, welcomes the policy of national reconciliation the PRK Government hs announced. We fully support this and are prepared to render every possible help for its implementation. As is known, Vietnam has already begun the staged withdrawal of its volunteer troops from Cambodia and intends to complete it by 1990. However, this could take place earlier if armed interference in the affairs of the fraternal Cambodian people from outside would stop. Vietnam, together with the people of Cambodia, is vitally interested in ending the conflict, so that Indochina, East Asia, and the whole Asia-Pacific region can become a single zone of peace, security, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. We believe that the Khmer opposition will share this view and will not drag its feet in responding to the peaceful initiatives of the people's government of the fraternal country of Angkor."

The program ends with extensive views of the ancient city of Angkor and the work of restoration of national monuments.

Commentary Reports U.S. Aid to Khmer Groups

BK0308060088 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Commentary by station commentator Nikolayev]

[Text] THE WASHINGTON POST has reported that the U.S. Government intends to increase aid to the two Khmer opposition groups headed by Son Sann and Samdech Sihanouk. It would be no surprise if this aid also included U.S. arms. The United States has affirmed that it does not entertain relations with the third group, led by the Pol Potists. A few days ago, U.S. diplomats intensified efforts to prevent the rehabilitation of Pol Pot's representative and henchmen. As a matter of fact, this question was discussed during the visit to Beijing by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The Chinese side, too, did not insist that the Pol Pot regime be restored.

The United States intends to increase aid to the two Khmer opposition groups because Samdech Sihanouk has frequently protested about the militarily dangerous buildup of the Pol Pot forces. Will the increase in U.S. aid to Son Sann and Samdech Sihanouk make any contribution to the search for a Cambodian solution? It certainly will not. Instead it will mark an escalation of U.S. interference in Cambodia's internal affairs, and will run counter to the interests of the solution. The foundations for this solution have already been laid down at the informal meeting in Bogor, Indonesia.

As pointed out by Alatas, Indonesian foreign minister and chairman of the meeting, all factions have unanimously stressed that the main questions are the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia—which must be completed as part of an overall political solution—the prevention of the return of the genocidal policy and acts conducted by Pol Pot, the cessation of foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs, and an end to the supply of foreign weapons to all the warring Khmer groups.

The Bogor meeting was an unofficial one, and the United States did not attend. But if Washington wishes to help resolve the Cambodian problem, it must at least recognize the opinion of the meeting's participants.

Burma Paper Decries 'Western News Media' Reports

BK0408033288 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1430 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] It has been reported that a newspaper in Burma, the WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY, has accused the Western news media of broadcasting slanted and fabricated news on recent events in Burma.

The WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY says the Western news media in their recent reports insinuated that President Sein Lwin of Burma had been wounded in an assassination attempt and that there were disturbances in some areas of Burma. The newspaper writes that this slanted and fabricated news was broadcast with the aim of destabilizing Burma's economic and political situation.

Indonesian Vice President Receives Media Group

PM0308142288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the rubric "24 Hours in the World": "Indonesia"]

[Text] Indonesia, 30 Jul—Indonesian Vice President Sudharmono today received the delegates to the seventh general assembly of the Organization of Asian and Pacific News Agencies (OANA), which has finished its work in Jakarta. The OANA includes news services from Vietnam, Indonesia, Iran, Mongolia, the USSR, the Philippines, and a number of other states. In a brief conversation with the TASS delegation, Sudharmono said that the Indonesian Government advocates the strengthening of relations with the Soviet Union and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in various spheres.

Philippine Senate Leader Reviews USSR Visit

PM0308110688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Orlando Mercado, leader of the Senate majority in the Philippine Congress, by own correspondent D. Kosyrev in Manila: "A Time for Reasonable Approaches"]

[Text] Manila, 28 Jul—[Kosyrev] A visit to the USSR by a Philippine Congress delegation has just ended. You were head of the delegation.

[Mercado] Our countries have had diplomatic relations for 12 years, but their level leaves much to be desired. Cultural exchanges take place successfully, but not much has been achieved in the political sphere. The same can be said for economic ties. Our trip to the USSR helped us to clarify the two countries' relations and to determine how they can be improved. We were able to see for ourselves the exciting changes in your country and understand your new policy. That was useful and necessary for us—in particular, for the members of the Senate as the organ that ratifies international treaties signed by the government. Mutual understanding with the USSR enables us better to assess Philippine foreign policy in general and to understand the course of world events that influence our decisions.

As for trade relations, we discussed possible projects for extending them, seeking to understand why they are at such a low level. Here considerable blame rests with our side, and we are trying to change that.

[Kosyrev] In recent years several such agreements have been reached. But their fulfillment is slow, and trade has been reduced markedly. Why is this?

[Mercado] We are representatives of the legislative power, we can only observe how the government conducts this work. But we feel that the private sector is not receiving the necessary encouragement in trade with the socialist countries. It is also necessary to review the role of the Philippine International Trade Commission, which is responsible for this work. We want to ask it why it operates so sluggishly. And a great deal must be done to change the attitude of officials and the broad public to this matter. At a time when restructuring is taking place in the USSR, many of us are, so to speak, stuck in the "cold war" era in our thinking. You will notice that even the Americans are now talking about setting up joint enterprises with the USSR and trading with your country. But we Filipinos are sticking to the old ways. Many of our people suspect any Russian who comes here of being a KGB man, but look sympathetically at any American guest. Let us approach matters reasonably. It is time to grow up; time to take a mature view of things!

As you know, we were a U.S. colony, and many prejudices survive from that time. But it is not a question of choosing between the USSR and the United States, only of a correct understanding of the realities of the modern world and of overcoming psychological barriers in people's thinking—and that includes very high-ranking Philippine statesmen.

[Kosyrev] Your impressions of the USSR.

[Mercado] The openness and friendly feelings with which we were received made me think that the USSR regards us as an important part of the Pacific region. We agree with M.S. Gorbachev that the USSR is a Pacific state. We are pleased with Moscow's steady progress toward disarmament and detente, which, we think, can only help our country and the whole region.

Asia-Pacific Political Scene Viewed

PM0208154388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts "Military-Political Review": "Surmount the Reefs of Confrontation"]

[Text] The British daily THE INDEPENDENT has named this year "Peace Year." And although experience has taught us to avoid overly optimistic generalizations, I am prepared to agree with this definition. Indeed, the first real results achieved thanks to the new political thinking—the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan—have acted as catalysts in bringing about a general improvement in the international climate. In all regions, on all continents—whether Europe, Africa, or Central America—we can see people making an effort to reduce confrontation and seek political solutions to conflict situations.

These positive changes could not fail to have an impact on the situation in the Asian and Pacific region. This is a region where for many decades people have not known lasting peace. The past week has brought hopes of settling two chronic regional conflicts at the same time: in Southeast Asia and on the Korean peninsula. An informal meeting aimed at reaching a settlement of the situation surrounding Cambodia was held in the city of Bogor, not far from the Indonesian capital. During the first stage conversations were held between delegations from the PRK Government and three opposition groups. They were then joined by representatives of other Southeast Asian states that have an interest in the earliest possible end to this regional conflict.

The Phnom Penh delegation came to the meeting with constructive initiatives. Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, proposed a plan for a settlement which is distinguished by the breadth of its approach and readiness for reasonable compromise for the sake of national interests. This program envisages forming a national reconciliation council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and with the participation of representatives of all four sides, holding general elections, adopting a new constitution, and forming a coalition government. The plan also proposes establishing an international commission to monitor the implementation of the accords reached and holding a representative conference to guarantee Cambodia's independence and sovereignty.

It is proposed to complete the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from the country by the end of 1989 or, at the very latest, by the first quarter of 1990. It goes without saying that this must be done on the basis of a simultaneous end to foreign military intervention in the republic's internal affairs and an end to foreign aid to Pol Pot followers and other opposition organizations, including an end to the provision of bases and refuges outside Cambodia. Basically, the PRK Government, which controls the situation in the country, is prepared to share power with the opposition in the interests of reconciliation.

Judging by the statement made by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who chaired the discussion, the participants in the meeting share the opinion that the key, interconnected issues involved in reaching a settlement are: The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the prevention of Pol Pot's policy of genocide being repeated in the future, an end to all foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs, and the termination of foreign arms supplies to opposition forces.

In my opinion, the meeting revealed a very significant feature. For 9 years it has been clear from the statements made by many ASEAN leaders that the root of the problem is merely the presence of SRV forces in Cambodia. Now, however, their withdrawal is being directly linked to preventing the brutal regime of genocide from taking power. But the Vietnamese servicemen first entered Cambodian territory to do exactly that—to help save the fraternal Khmer people from power being held by murderers! And all these years they have helped the country's armed forces to repel attacks by Pol Pot forces.

And now it is certainly not the SRV but the "Red Khmer" leaders who are standing in the way of reconciliation. As Comrade Hun Sen pointed out, they have rejected all the proposals for a political settlement that have been agreed on by the other three sides. It is therefore impossible not to agree with the demand made by the chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers on the need to eliminate the Pol Pot military organization, which is a means of seizing power.

Be that as it may, the meeting still had great significance. The decision was made to set up a working group to study specific aspects of the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

There are also hopes of progress in reaching a solution to the chronic conflict in Korea. For 40 years one nation has been divided at the will of American imperialism. On more than one occasion KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has reported on proposals made by people's Korea, which is trying to lessen military confrontation on the peninsula.

At the same time, it must be said that both Seoul and Washington have remained deaf to these appeals. But it now seems that the situation in South Korea is such that the authorities can no longer ignore the will of the Korean people. Recently the Seoul minister of the National Unification Board described as "positive" the North's proposals on talks between parliamentary delegations to draft a joint declaration of nonaggression. Judging by press reports, representatives of the South Korean parliament have already begun preparing for a preliminary meeting.

As we can see, many Asian capitals are realizing that political problems cannot now be solved by force of arms. Unfortunately, Washington is still trying to pursue its policies in the region proceeding from primacy of force. This was evidenced by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz' recent visit to a number of countries in the region. During the visit the head of the U.S. foreign policy department repeated as if it were an incantation that under no circumstances will the United States renounce its military presence in Asia and the Pacific.

It should be pointed out that U.S. military activity in the region is not only not on the wane but, on the contrary, increasing. "Peace Year" is a year of big military games for the Pentagon. Spring saw the annual U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" maneuvers, which were followed by a series of U.S.-Japanese exercises, and maneuvers involving U.S. and Thai Armed Forces are currently in progress.

In addition to this, for 1 and ½ months now multilateral naval maneuvers, "Rimpac-88," have been in progress over an enormous area stretching between California and Hawaii. The United States, Japan, Canada, and Australia have sent 45 warships, 200 combat aircraft, and 50,000 servicemen. This armada, which is divided into two groups—one led by the aircraft carrier "Nimitz" and the other by the battleship "Missouri"—is rehearsing antisubmarine and antiair operations at sea, as well as "electronic warfare." An "engagement" which took place a few days ago was the culmination of these maneuvers. It draws attention by its openly anti-Soviet thrust. According to KYODO, the group led by the battleship "Missouri" did not play the role of "blues" or "oranges" but "the role of a Soviet squadron led by the latest nuclear missile cruiser."

But even these maneuvers can only be described as the overture to the militarist pandemonium that is going to break loose just when the Olympic Games are being held in Seoul. The groups led by the "Nimitz" and "Missouri" will be joined by another two—led by the aircraft carrier "Midway" and the battleship "New Jersey" equipped with Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles. The "New Jersey" has already arrived in the South Korean port of Pusan. At the same time Japan will conduct maneuvers involving 170 warships. So it is obviously no accident that representatives of the South Korean Naval Command are already on board the aircraft carrier "Nimitz."

American strategists are still trying to involve allies as broadly as possible in their military preparations. A special role is being assigned to Japan in this respect. A clear example of this is provided by the aforementioned "Rimpac-88" maneuvers. The Japanese Navy is represented by 10 ships in these maneuvers. As the journal EKONOMISUTO points out, in addition to eight destroyers and one submarine, this is the first time the detachment has also included a floating base providing backup supplies for the Japanese warships. During the last "Rimpac" exercises they had to refuel from the U.S. base which, according to Japanese seamen, restricted their movements. Now, however, they are saying with satisfaction that they can act with greater freedom.

It only remains to add that the entire Japanese detachment is incorporated in the group of ships accompanying the "Nimitz." According to the Japanese press, this role of "covering" the U.S. aircraft carrier fully accords with the plan for distributing responsibilities between the U.S. Navy and Japanese Navy in the event of those infamous "emergency circumstances."

Tokyo is also building up its military potential within the framework of the Pentagon plans. Prime Minister Takeshita has more than once stated the intention to "bring Japan's military potential into line with its economic might." This buildup is progressing in virtually every direction: Missile units are being created and there are plans to build aircraft carriers. What does all this have to do with self-defense? "The aim of strengthening our armed forces," Kawara, chief of the National Defense Agency, explained, "is not only to guarantee our country's security but also to play a role in guaranteeing the security of the free world." He had to use the word "security" to conceal the desired aim of Japanese ruling circles—to secure and play the role of Western deputy in the Asian and Pacific region. Washington is encouraging these ambitions in official Tokyo.

So what is shown by this storm of military activity on the part of the United States and its allies, given their clear reluctance to begin talks on reducing this activity in Asia? It seems that Washington strategists allow that there could be an appreciable cut in arms and forces in Europe. So, as a form of compensation for this, they are making timely preparations to move the emphasis in their military preparations to the Asian and Pacific region.

Of course, this approach certainly cannot be called constructive. "A productive dialogue," M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his conversation with former Japanese Prime Minister Y. Nakasone, "is possible if the sides do not think in terms of how to defeat the opposite side." Yes, dialogue is possible only in conditions of equality and a readiness to consider the security interests of the other side. This is the only way to overcome the reefs of confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region.

Briefs

Australian Pacific Committee Delegation

Moscow August 1 TASS—The delegation of the Australian National Committee for Pacific Cooperation stayed in Moscow on the invitation of the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. The sides held a substantive exchange of views on the state and further development of bilateral cooperation, on extending the Soviet Union's involvement in the international division of labour in the Asia-Pacific region. The view was expressed about the need to look for new and more effective forms of economic ties with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The sides recognized as necessary to explore the possibility of launching joint ventures and establishing direct production links. [Text] [*LD0208012688 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 1 Aug 88*]

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives

LD0308170288 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Larijani, who represents the Iranian leadership, arrived in Moscow today.

He will exchange views with the Soviet side on Soviet-Iranian relations, an early termination of the Iran-Iraq war, and the development of the situation in the region.

At the airport, he was met by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, and other officials.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD0308184288 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, held today a detailed exchange of views on a wide range of questions connected with Soviet-Iranian relations and prospects of their further development with Mohammad Larijani, deputy foreign minister of Iran and a representative of the Iranian leadership. Larijani said that the Iranian leadership sought to maintain the relations of good neighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union. On his part, Shevardnadze emphasized that the USSR had always consistently come out for a favourable development of Soviet-Iranian relations and had attached much importance to them.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Mohammad Larijani spoke out in favour of a joint quest for new, more effective forms of Soviet-Iranian bilateral cooperation.

They discussed in detail a present-day situation in the Iranian-Iraqi armed conflict, taking into consideration an official recognition by Iran of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council. The Soviet side stated with satisfaction that the recognition of the resolution by Iran changed the situation for the better and was an important and encouraging step on the way to the settlement of the conflict. The Soviet foreign minister said that the USSR was ready to render all kinds of assistance to the U.N. secretary general in his efforts aimed at achieving ceasefire as soon as possible and fully putting into practice other provisions of the resolution.

When discussing questions connected with Afghanistan, Eduard Shevardnadze reiterated the resolve of the Soviet side to promote in every way further progress of the Afghan settlement. He expressed full support for the proposals and efforts of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan aimed at attaining this goal as soon as possible. Shevardnadze dwelt on the problem of the return home of Soviet servicemen kept by the Afghan armed opposition forces and, in development of the earlier exchange of views, expressed hope that Iran would render assistance in this humane undertaking.

Shevardnadze Holds Talks With Pakistani Minister

LD0308171488 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, held talks today with Yaqub Khan, minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan, staying in Moscow on a short working visit.

Yaqub Khan expressed high appreciation of the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR and the perestroyka processes now under way in this country. In this setting he specially pointed out the significance of the 19th party conference and the speech made there by Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Soviet side expressed gratitude for this assessment of the developments in the USSR by the Pakistani leadership.

The ministers had a detailed exchange of views on questions connected with the putting into practice of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and discussed some aspects of the international situation, the state and prospects of the development of Soviet- Pakistani relations.

The Soviet side emphasized that the accords on Afghan settlement signed in Geneva on April 14, this year, were no less important for the restructuring of the international relations than the INF Treaty. They laid a solid foundation for a just political settlement of one of the most complicated and painful regional conflicts of today. Those accords vividly showed that when the sides involved in confrontation display goodwill, the understanding of existing realities and the readiness for compromises it is possible to find a way out of any deadlock situation. In this connection the significance of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan goes far beyond the framework of the normalization of the situation in South-West Asia.

Yaqub Khan's attention was drawn to the fact that, like any other international agreements, the documents signed in Geneva assume practical sense and significance only when they are honestly and scrupulously implemented by all the parties to them. It is precisely thus, strictly and responsibly, that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan approach the Geneva accords. However, the other side—Pakistan—by its actions undermines these accords.

On the Soviet side, it was stated with profound regret and alarm that the Pakistani leadership has not only failed to cease the interference and to liquidate in its territory the infrastructure for engaging in it by the date the Geneva accords took effect, i.e., by 15 May of this year, as provided for by the Geneva accords, but also engaged in open violation of the commitments it has assumed.

Facts were cited, among other things, attesting to the unceasing massive dispatches of arms and armed detachments of the opposition from Pakistan to Afghanistan with the assistance of units of the Pakistani Army, to the continuing functioning in Pakistan of the headquarters and propaganda centres of the "Alliance of Seven", of its camps for the training of combat units of the opposition.

The need was emphasized for the Pakistani side to implement corresponding steps aimed at ensuring the normal functioning of the international mechanism for supervising the implementation of the Geneva accords.

Yaqub Khan was told that connivance at the establishment on its territory by the "Alliance of Seven" of the so-called "transitional government" of Afghanistan, which is unobstructedly stepping up its activity, became yet another gross violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

The formation of the "transitional government" of Afghanistan is seen in Moscow as an action whipping up the atmosphere of confrontation in the approach to the Afghan internal problems, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed. This basically runs counter to the provision on the parties' readiness to further the striving of the Afghan people to elaborate generally acceptable measures for setting up a government on a broad foundation, support this process and promote it on the understanding that any questions related to the government of Afghanistan are the subject of the exclusive jurisdiction of that country's people, the provision which was agreed upon with the Pakistani side.

Public statements by official Pakistani representatives to the effect that Pakistan intends to give aid to the Peshawar Seven up to the victories end cause bewilderment in the USSR. Such contentions clearly contradict the Pakistani side's statements on its desire to normalize relations and develop goodneighbourliness and cooperation and also consolidate international peace and security in the region.

The Soviet side stated that although in Geneva the Pakistani side and Afghanistan signed alongside other documents the agreement on the voluntary return of refugees, Islamabad does not take any steps toward its implementation. Moreover, it hampers in every way their return.

Pakistani troops detain on the border Afghan refugees moving to Afghanistan and force them to go back to camps. The matter amounted to the point that the governor of the Pakistani province of Baluchistan issued a direct call to the leaders of the opposition late in June this year to intensify the work in the refugee camps to prevent their return to the homeland.

Yaqub Khan's attention was drawn to the now more frequent shelling of Afghan cities, villages and economic projects by the forces of Afghan rebels. Over the past two months more than 200 missiles were fired on Kabul alone, and dozens of explosive devices were exploded. These actions have resulted in killing or maiming hundreds of innocent people, mainly women, old people and children.

Islamabad's support for such actions cannot be described other than as international terrorism.

We would wish, Eduard Shevardnadze stated, that they in Islamabad become clearly aware that this cannot go on indefinitely. The Geneva process will lose its raison-d'etre if the situation remains when one of the parties abides by its commitments and another ignores and violates them. The Soviet Union as a guarantor country will be forced to think over such steps that would enable the Geneva accords to play their role. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan will find with what to counter the growing interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

It was unequivocally stated to the Pakistani minister that, regardless of the recognition or nonrecognition by Islamabad of the present government of Afghanistan, that government objectively exists and it was with it that Pakistan signed the Geneva accords.

In our conviction, the programme of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, approved by the Afghan parliament and aimed at the earliest restoration of peace in the country, deserves the closest attention and support. If, however, in Islamabad they believe that the non-recognition of the Afghan Government can serve as justification for Pakistan to evade compliance with its international commitments under the Geneva accords, then the natural question arises: Why did the Pakistani side sign them at all?

Eduard Shevardnadze dwelt especially on the question of Soviet prisoners of war seized by Afghan rebels. This question has a bearing on the Afghan settlement and also on Soviet-Pakistani relations. "We have the information that several hundred of captured Soviet citizens are subjected to psychological impact, brutalities, and some of them are even murdered. Our striving to bring about the release of Soviet citizens from captivity comes up against evasive statements of Islamabad. It is said that nothing is known of the whereabouts of the aforementioned Soviet citizens, and that there are no Soviet prisoners of war in the territory of Pakistan. Yet we know of cases when Soviet prisoners of war were taken to the United States. They were brought there directly from the territory of Pakistan. Promoting the return of our citizens home would show that the Pakistani leadership is really striving for the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union," Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Yaqub Khan gave a standard set of arguments which in his opinion show that the accusations of Islamabad of the failing to observe the Geneva accords are unjustifiable. He tried to prove that Pakistan adheres to the letter and the spirit of these documents.

In answer to this it was pointed out to the Pakistani minister again that the undermining of the Geneva accords by Islamabad, its complicity in the escalation of armed clashes in the Republic of Afghanistan seriously interfere with the cardinal improvement of Soviet-Pakistani relations.

"We hope that all the parties of the Geneva accords will be observing unswervingly their obligations stemming from these documents", Eduard Shevardnadze said in conclusion.

Yaqub Khan agreed with posing the question in this way and said that Pakistan intends to honour the provisions of the arrangements reached in Geneva.

The talks passed in a businesslike and open atmosphere.

Departs for Kabul

LD0408113088 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Shevardnadze left for Kabul today.

General Disputes Tsagolov's View on Afghanistan

LD0208110588 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 2 Aug 88

["KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Disagrees With a Soviet General's Views"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Colonel-General Vladimir Vostrov, who served in Afghanistan for a long time as the main military adviser, comments in the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) on General Kim Tsagolov's interview on the current situation in Afghanistan, which was published by the OGONEK weekly.

"I have recently returned from Afghanistan, and it seems to me that I know the current situation there quite well," General Vostrov said. "Therefore I cannot share the assessments of the situation given by General Tsagolov in the interview. I think he made them way back in 1981-1984 when he served as adviser at the Afghan Military College. His stay in Afghanistan in 1987, which was short by the way, seems to do little to change his views. I also think that the limited scope of his service duties in Afghanistan could not but affect the extent of his apprehension of the developments in the country."

General Vostrov does not agree with Tsagolov who sees the April revolution only as a military coup. Vostrov believes that it opened broad vistas enabling the people of Afghanistan to embark on the road of social progress. Unfortunately, the mistakes of the former Afghan leadership prevented them from being realised in full measure.

"Today," the general continues, "the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan attaches top priority to the policy of national reconciliation, which takes account of the traditions of the Afghan people and their bitter experience of the past few years. The creation of the bloc of left democratic parties and the coalition government marked an important achievement of this policy. I am convinced that the future of the country will hinge on a policy which will be backed by the people."

"This is my opinion, which is shared by everyone with the first-hand knowledge of the situation in Afghanistan," Colonel-Genera Vostrov said.

In addition to the article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, it is worth mentioning a TASS interview by a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman who said that "Kim Tsagolov's viewpoint was the personal view of the professor. But the pluralism of views is a common phenomenon, and the publication of Kim Tsagolov's interview is the business of the OGONEK editors.

"As for the Soviet side, it certainly holds a different view. We believe that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has good standing in the country, is following a correct course meeting the interests of the Afghan people and has every opportunity to continue working confidently towards peace and national reconciliation of the Afghans."

Konduz Governor Sees Off Soviet Troop Unit

LD0308210488 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 3 TASS—People of Konduz today sent off home a Soviet military unit which was fulfilling its internationalist duty in this northern province of

Afghanistan. Hundreds of city dwellers and peasants gathered for a meeting which was held within the unit's lines. The meeting was addressed by Governor of Konduz Province 'Abdul Haqim Salah. Expressing gratitude to soldiers-internationalists on behalf of the population of Konduz for the assistance rendered to the Afghan people he said: "We all feel sad now as we bid farewell to friends". Then the governor presented to the unit a standard of the command of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Upon the conclusion of the meeting, the columns of Soviet soldiers started toward the state border of the USSR.

Troops Continue Withdrawal

LD0308173988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent A. Shkirando report from Konduz]

[Text] Soviet units have been withdrawing from the northern Afghan province of Konduz over the past few days. However, as the Soviet troops leave Afghanistan for home, in accordance with the Geneva accords, Afghan extremists have been busy spreading rumors about the seizure of the country's chief cities within the next few days. This list also includes the city of Konduz. Despite such forecasts, we visited the city and found life to be normal. All small factories and workshops were working, while trading is brisk at bazaars. The situation in Konduz Province is stable. Naturally, opposition members have not been sitting idle. Apart from the rumors, they are also putting out propaganda pamphlets, most of which are published in Pakistan. [video shows Konduz street scenes; cuts to an array of pamphlets]

Here is a match textbook. Instead of sticks to be counted, there are knives and guns. Apparently the so-called fighters for the faith believe that the foundations of mathematics can be assimilated much easier this way. However, despite the extremists' calls to carry on with the senseless bloodshed, the province's local population prefers a peaceful life. [video shows pages of a math manual, with paintings of guns of men armed with Kalashnikovs walking through high grass] This must be defended, weapon in hands, and it applies to this self-defense detachment from the village of Ebrahim-Khel. [camera closes in on a man who is interviewed; caption reads: Shamsuddin, commander of the self-defence detachment]

[Begin Shamsuddin recording in vernacular, facing into Russian translation] I am a peasant, but I have not parted with my weapon for almost 10 years. Our detachment is not large—just 20 volunteers—but we protect peace and quiet in our village. Soviet soldiers helped us in a difficult time. They are going home, but we will be able to defend ourselves on our own. [end recording]

'Vice President' Comments

LD0308162788 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The goal of the national reconciliation policy is to give Afghans a possibility to solve their internal problems and problems around Afghanistan on their own, in a peaceful way, without using weapons and force, Afghanistan's vice president said.

'Abdurrahim Hatif, who is also chairman of the Executive Board of the National Front and the Presidium of the Supreme Emergency National Reconciliation Commission, was speaking at a news conference for Soviet and foreign reporters at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre today.

He said that the national reconciliation policy had already yielded specific results, the most important of them being the signing of the Geneva accords and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The vice president said that there were already no Soviet troops in 19 Afghan provinces.

After August 15, he went on, only half of the Soviet troops contingent would remain in the country—and only in five provinces: Kabul, Parwan, Herat, Baghlan and Samangan.

"We hope that Pakistan will abide by the Geneva accords as thoroughly as Afghanistan does," Hatif said.

"We hope that the United States, which is a gurantor of the Geneva accords together with the Soviet Union, will observe them as accurately as the Soviet Union."

Asked if Afghanistan would be able to defend its independence on its own, the vice president said: "If you turn to history you will see that my homeland has always been ready to defend its borders."

"And now we're confident that Afghanistan's defence forces are reliable enough for defending gains of the revolution," Hatif continued.

The vice president said the recently-started talks between Iran and Iraq and prospects for an end to the bloody war between them "can lead to normalization of the situation in the region and, ultimately, the Persian Gulf will become a zone of peace."

Then, he said, "in Iran there will appear an understanding of the need to create conditions for the return of Afghan refugees home."

Artillery Unit Returns

LD0208173688 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Kurgan-Tyube August 2 TASS—A Soviet artillery unit today returned home from Afghanistan where it had performed its internationalist duty for five years. The Soviet soldiers were given a hearty welcome in Kurgan-Tyube, the regional centre in Tajikistan, Soviet Central Asia.

The unit commander made a report to a senior officer that his unit had returned home. Veterans of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 addressed the words of gratitude to the sons and grandsons who had performed their military duty with honour.

After a short rest, the unit set out for the place of permanent deployment.

Military Actions Reported

LD0208132188 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 2 TASS—A jirgah of the inhabitants of Kabul Province was held here. It was addressed by Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Keshtmand drew attention to a recent intensification of the shelling of Kabul and urged the population to cooperate more actively with the authorities in preventing new crimes by the extremists. The jirgah passed a resolution condemning the actions of the intransigent opposition, which is the cause of many civilian casualties. Tribal chiefs, MPs [ministers of parliament] and other authoritative representatives of the population in Kabul Province pledged to enter into talks with opposition groups to dissuade to resort to fresh antihumane acts.

Assemblies and meetings in support of the course of the PDPA and the government aimed at strict compliance with the provisions of the Geneva accords were held in provinces Samangan and Nangarhar.

There is information indicating that representatives of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan received at Peshawar Airfield in mid-July 400 units of anti-aircraft defense weapons, which were delivered from Western countries. Heavy weapons and ammunition were delivered to districts Paghman (Kabul Province), Sorhurd (Nangarhar Province) and Laghman Province to bolster the rebel groups.

According to BAKHTAR news agency, the Afghan Armed Forces thwarted attempts by extremists to fire ground-to-ground rockets at populated localities in the area of the Kuh-e Safi in Baghrami district. Four rocket launchers, readied to be fired, were seized. A group of extremists, who tried to disrupt peaceful life, was destroyed in Alingar District, Laghman Province. As a result of the successful operation and active support of the local population several strongpoints manned by the opposition were liquidated. The Republic's security forces seized more than 20 kg of explosives which were to be used to stage terrorist acts in the Afghan capital.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan, concerned over Pakistan's unceasing violations of the Geneva accords, has sent the 63rd note of protest to the Kabul office of U.N. monitors. The note defines precisely the location, time and the fact of the violation. The Afghan Government asked the U.N. monitors to hold a thorough inquiry into the facts mentioned in the note.

Further Actions Noted

LD0308152988 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 3 TASS—Afghan Army units continue operations to ensure security in the environs of the capital. Up to ten rebels were destroyed in Paghman District in the past 24 hours and several of their fortified positions were seized. Afghan servicemen captured during the fighting a missile launcher, a large-calibre machine-gun and other weapons. Sappers removed from the earth dozens of mines. Four extremists were killed and three taken prisoner during combat operations in Parvan Province.

These operations by the Armed Forces of Afghanistan are forced ones, they are provoked by the opposition which does not stop at any crimes. The latest rocketing by extremists of the district center of Injil, Herat Province, killed seven civilians and injured two. A bus with passengers hit a mine planted by rebels on the road linking the town of Gardyz with Seyyed Karam District, Paktia Province. The blast killed two passengers and the rest eight people sustained severe injuries.

It is also reported that during one day—July 31—the armed opposition fired rockets and shells at settlements of 14 Afghan provinces.

The subversive and terrorist activity by the "irreconcilables" is spurred on by their foreign patrons. Pakistan keeps violating the Geneva agreements. In view of this, the 64th note of the Afghan Foreign Ministry was handed over to the team of U.N. observers.

Follow some of the examples of these violations: A caravan arrived from Pakistani territory in the area of Feyzabad, Badakhshan Province. It brought ten portable anti-aircraft missile systems, 20 rocket projectiles, four recoilless guns, five mortars, ten anti- aircraft mountain systems, four large-calibre machine-guns and radio communication systems for the units of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan.

Weapons and ammunition for the rebels continue to be moved from Pakistan to Khowst District. One more caravan of 32 cars brought weapons and ammunition for extremists operating in Orgun District. To deploy an anormous amount of armaments, members of the opposition from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan in 'Ali Sheyr rural district, north-east of Khowst, urgently equipped several new depots in the mountains during the latter half of July.

Notwithstanding the serious nature of the situation in the country, there are facts showing the success of the forces of peace. For instance, one more armed group went over to the side of the government. Its commander 'Abdul Haq stated about the intention of his subordinates to turn weapons against the "irreconcilables".

Afghan refugees keep returning from Pakistan and Iran. One hundred and seventy people returned to Nangarhar and Qandahar Provinces in the past 24 hours and more than 400 people—returned several days earlier.

Arab Advisers Aid 'Rebels'

LD0308110788 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 3 TASS—Foreign military advisers keep crossing into Afghanistan with anti-government formations, reports coming here say. Two Arab advisers arrived in Hamari Kala village of Aqchah District, Jowzjan Province, recently. They set up a propaganda center of "irreconcilables" in the mosque of this village. The character of propaganda can be judged, in part, by the following fact. On one of the days the Arab advisers disguised two groups of rebels in the uniform of government troops and staged before cameras Afghan servicemen's violence against peaceful residents of the village. Eventually it is supposed to use the taped material as a certain proof of the ruthlessness of the authorities of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Extremists operating near the city of Ghazni constantly stage armed provocations to destabilized the situation. Three Arab advisrs arrived to give respective "aid" to rebel formations. Under their guidance mujahidin mine roads leading to the provincial center, stage attacks at cars and other acts of subversion, which, in part, create difficulties in the supply of the population with food and manufactured goods. Ghazni and the adjacent villages are regularly rocketed. These gangster-like actions left six civilians dead and more than 50 wounded in the last few days.

It is also reported that a "commission" comprising 12 foreign advisers arrived in the area of Panjshir and a group of Arab instructors—in the environs of the town of Fazra [name as received], in Parwan Province.

Kabul Bomb Kills 3

LD0408125288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul, 4 Aug (TASS)—There was another explosion in the Afghan capital this morning, in Shahrar district. As vegetables were being unloaded in the market, a truck packed with explosives exploded. As a result of this terrorist action by the hard-line opposition, three people were killed and nine were injured.

Diplomatic Sources Spread Afghan 'Rumors'

LD0308130288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1212 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Aug (TASS)—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

What cock-and-bull stories are issued by some Western mass media on the situation in Afghanistan and on Soviet troops, who are leaving the country in strict observance of the Geneva agreements.

Thus, a respectable news agency, AFP, recently reported that Afghan opposition units have allegedly destroyed two Soviet aircraft at Qandahar airport, and that a third plane was allegedly shot down by a Stinger missile on the outskirts of the town.

A correspondent of the U.S. ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency reported "great losses" of Soviet troops in the vicinity of Lowgar, where 18 Soviet servicemen are alleged to have lost their lives in clashes with fighters of the Afghan opposition.

Both the U.S. and the French correspondents filed these dispatches from Islamabad. According to them, they are based on information from diplomatic sources who wish to remain anonymous.

Where did these "diplomatic sources" get reports, and one so important, it would seem, concerning events which are alleged to have taken place in the neighboring country?

Out of thin air, that's where. There can be no two ways about it. After all, these, as indeed numerous other, similar insinuations absolutely fail to correspond to reality, according to authoritative information. Moreover, Soviet forces, as is known, have long since left the vicinity of Lowgar. Thus, no clashes of this type could have taken place there, if only for this reason and it alone.

So why are rumors of this type issued? Obviously, certainly not to facilitate the process of a political settlement. Certain circles are clearly not interested in eliminating a hotbed of tension in Afghanistan, and with the aid of clumsy concoctions, they are attempting to fan the flames of the conflict which is being extinguished.

Afghan Party Delegation Concludes Visit

PM0308092388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Text] A PDPA Central Auditing Commission delegation led by Commission Chairman G.D. Panjsheri was in the Soviet Union 25-31 July in line with the schedule for interparty links between the CPSU and the PDPA.

The delegation was received by I.V. Kapitonov, CPSU Central Auditing Commission chairman.

During the conversation, which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, I.V. Kapitonov informed the Afghan comrades of the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and tasks arising from its decisions. There was an exchange of experience of auditing work in the CPSU and the PDPA.

The Afghan delegation traveled to Kalinin Oblast where it studied the work experience of the auditing commissions of the oblast, city, and rayon party organizations, met with the party aktiv, and familiarized itself with the work situation in oblast industrial enterprises' party organizations.

Egyptian Minister Ghali Views Gulf, Mideast

PM0308154488 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 9

[Interview with Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, by own correspondent Sergey Medvedko: "Butrus Ghali: 'Wasting No Time'"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs and president of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, was in the Soviet Union on a visit. This is what he told LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Sergey Medvedko:

[Ghali] Iran's recognition of UN Security Council Resolution 598 is probably the most important event in the Near and Middle East region in recent days. Egypt regards this decision as the first step along the path to an end to a bloody war that has lasted nearly 8 years. Now, in sporting terms, the ball is in the UN Security Council's court. Active efforts are being made there to put the resolution into practice. One would like to hope that the Council and its permanent members recognize their responsibility and will waste no time in using the opportunity that exists to stop the terrible toll of victims in the Iran-Iraq conflict. I think the tragedy of 3 July in which the Iranian passenger aircraft was shot down by U.S. Air Force [as published] missiles over the Persian Gulf should prompt everyone to seek the speediest possible settlement of the conflict, which is claiming more and more victims.

However, despite Iran's recognition of the resolution, I am far from complacent. Alas, the situation in the Arab world remains complex and explosive: The conflict in the Persian Gulf continues, the civil war in Lebanon drags on, the people's uprising by the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories rages, there is unrest in Sudan, tension persists in relations between Chad and Libya—in a word, there are a whole range of problems and conflicts that threaten the peoples of the region.

But the crux of the problem, the fuse, so to speak, in the Near East situation is the Palestinian question, which must be resolved on the basis of guarantees of the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinean people, including their right to self-determination. A peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem can be achieved only by means of talks through the convening of an international Middle East conference, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO and the great powers—the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

We pin great hopes on improving relations between the two great powers—the USSR and the United States. Their coordinated actions create for the whole of mankind real prerequisites for peace, security, and stability, and not only globally, but also for resolving regional problems. Egypt welcomes the Soviet Union's initiatives on preventing the further increase of tension in international relations, believing that complete disarmament is the best way around the threat to peace.

I think mankind's future is inseparably linked with the peoples' cooperation. Judge for yourself. There are the questions of air pollution, drought, the energy problem, the foreign debt and backwardness of Third World countries, the widening of the gulf between rich and poor. How can we stand in isolation in the face of this challenge, to say nothing of the danger of the arms race? Dialogue between peoples is the only way to resolve urgent tasks.

The traditional bonds that link our two countries' peoples seem to me to be the embodiment of friendship and an example of the new type of international relations. They have withstood many tests. Yes, sometimes differences have emerged. But, as happens with real comrades, our arguments and occasional differences of views only strengthen our friendship.

Belyayev Addresses Tunisian Party Congress

PM0308120088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Constitutional Democratic Rally Congress"]

[Text] Tunis, 30 Jul—Speeches by the heads of foreign delegations have begun at the extraordinary congress of the country's ruling party, the Constitutional Democratic Rally, which is being held here.

The participants in the congress greeted warmly the CPSU Central Committee message of greetings and the speech by the head of the CPSU delegation, A.A. Belyayev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA. He spoke of the revolutionary restructuring which is taking place in the Soviet Union and which has received new impetus from the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. He also stressed the great significance of stepping up joint efforts by the peace-loving public in all countries with a view to democratizing and humanizing international relations and building a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Embassy in Lisbon Denies Talks With UNITA

LD0208205588 Lisbon International Service in Portuguese 1800 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] The Soviet Embassy in Portugal today denied allegations of Soviet attempts to contact UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] representatives. The Soviet Embassy in Portugal recalls that the magazine JEUNE AFRIQUE had reported secret exploratory talks between Moscow's representatives and Savimbi in Paris a year ago, which the Soviet Foreign Ministry considered a premeditated fabrication.

The Soviet Embassy statement continues: In the same way, the reports by the news agency LUSA are groundless and cannot but be described as being false.

The LUSA correspondent in Rabat said that he had learned from an African source that Soviet high-ranking officials have asked African diplomats for a meeting with UNITA representatives in the Moroccan capital.

Further on Statement

LD0308224888 Moscow TASS in English 2240 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Lisbon August 3 TASS—The USSR Embassy in Lisbon has circulated in the local mass media organs the following statement. In according with reports of the LUSA news agency and the weekly EXPRESSO of July 29 and July 30 respectively on the alleged attempts of the Soviet Union to establish contacts with representatives of the Angolan anti-government group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], including in Lisbon, the Soviet Embassy deems it necessary to state that there is nothing new in these inventions. They appear rather regularly.

Thus, a year ago the journal JEUNE AFRIQUE reported an alleged secret meeting of a Moscow representative with representatives of Savimbi in Paris, which was regarded by the USSR Foreign Ministry at that time as a deliberate falsehood. The above mentioned reports of LUSA and EXPRESSO are also absolutely groundless and cannot be described only as obviously false ones distorting the Soviet Union's policy.

Angola, Cuba Reject RSA 'New Proposal'

LD0308220688 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 3 TASS—The People's Republic of Angola and Cuba rejected today a "new proposal" of South Africa concerning the settlement in the south of the continent which had been announced before by Roelof Botha, minister of foreign affairs of South Africa.

According to Botha, Pretoria agrees to start on November 1, this year, the implementation of the U.N. plan on Namibia and to hold an election under the U.N. aegis there on June 1, 1989. Apart from it, South Africa proposed ceasefire between the warring parties in the south of Africa and the withdrawal of South African troops from the occupied areas of Angola before September 1, this year.

However, the minister demanded as an indispensable condition the limitation of some "military bases" of the African National Congress allegedly located on Angolan territory and a complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from that country before June 1, next year.

Venancio Silva de Moura, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Angola who leads the Angolan delegation at a regular round of quadripartite talks in Geneva on the settlement of the situation in the south of Africa in which Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States are taking part, pointed out that Angola would never agree to its sovereignty and independence to become a subject for talks. Angola will not betray the national liberation forces recognized by the whole of the world community. The head of the Angolan delegation pointed out that South Africa had violated the principles of holding talks agreed upon by all the participants. It launched a noisy propaganda campaign around its proposals at the time when they were just submitted for the consideration of participants in the Geneva meeting. This can upset the talks and disrupt a normal situation there. And still, the Angolan deputy foreign minister continued, the Angolan delegation is determined to continue the started process in a constructive way.

A statement of a Cuban delegation circulated in Geneva on behalf of the delegations of Angola and Cuba says that the proposals of South Africa were not a concession on its part. Earlier the South African Government also set concrete dates of the implementation of Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council on the grainting of independence to Namibia. However, it did not fulfil its promise.

The proposals of the South African authorities are an attempt to revive the linkage between the problem of the decolonization of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, the statement pointed out. South Africa is not in a position to set the date of the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops which are protecting Angola from Pretoria's agressions. The date of their withdrawal will be set by Angola and Cuba themselves when the threat to the territorial integrity and independence of Angola ceases to exist. South Africa cannot stipulate the granting of independence to Namibia by the termination of Angola's assistance to the African National Congress. Neither can it demand restrictions on the activities of the South-West Africa People's Organization, the statement said.

Commentary Examines Changes in Afrikaner Society

MB0308171588 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Commentary by Boris Asoyan]

[Text] The Afrikaner nation was forged in the fire of constant battles with local tribes and then Englishmen. It's a nation which is sometimes called the white tribe of Africa. It's a nation that gave the world Dr Christiaan Barnard, the first to transplant a human heart, and a system of black reservations. It's a country of a unique technology of the production of liquid fuel from coal, and the medieval and cruel [words indistinct] laws.

It's a country of scientists who developed the first space apparatus in the history of Africa, and bureaucrats that determine the race of a newly born baby by its hair and nails. Not everything is so simple in this tribe. Those who continue to think that it is entirely comprised of confirmed racists and opponents of radical changes and talks with the black majority are mistaken.

Under the influence of many factors, including Botha's reforms, the Afrikaner society started to move. Deep changes are taking place that entail a destruction of the structures of the racial discrimination systems. The white tribe is rapidly losing the hope and readiness to fight the ideals of yesterday. For them, the gods of yesterday are seen as idols that do not deserve respect. Such ideals cannot be given meaning, neither by the aging Nationalist Party nor the opposition Conservative Party, which is trying to reanimate the long dead values of apartheid.

They cannot depend on the liberals that occupy indefinite positions, and that could not create a real counterbalance to the official ideology. The extreme right wing groupings are not able to give such ideals to the whites, and this should not be expected from the new liberals, represented by intellectual circles.

The new ideal that can seize all South Africans, irrespective of their skin color, can appear only in the course of a relatively long period of the smelting of the existing bastions, and the destruction of barricades and obstacles. This process would, to a considerable extent, be made easier if the authorities could find enough courage to take measures on the abrogation of the remaining apartheid laws that are ruining the future of South Africa.

Apartheid is a notion so shameful that only its most obstinate defenders can speak of it aloud. It is only they who are able to see in apartheid the viable variant of the development of the South African society. Maybe a living embryo is beating under its archaic rites. But what they are bringing to Afrikaner freedom in the destruction of all liberals? In other words, the preservation of the nation can be guaranteed only by the destruction of millions of people. I personally do not believe that the ultraright-wingers can take over power, but I absolutely, definitely assume that they will become more and more negative from the point of view of stability as the country moves towards changes.

The government, embittered to the extreme by the scale of the crisis, and pressured from various forces, is stifling all thought with extreme cruelty, is cutting off the possibility of a peaceful and free development of millions of people living in the south of Africa. South Africa is stepping into the last decade of the 20th century under the formal banner of military despotism covered with the blood of the Angolans, Mozambicans, its own people, (?furious) that the gilt of its civilization is getting shabby. Its political leadership looks perplexed and not ready for a long-term political solution. South Africa today is more solitary than ever before, and this solitude is becoming more and more oppressive. That is the alternative standing before the Afrikaners today.

Communique Issued on Talks With Rwanda

LD0308203088 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—When discussing the state of bilateral relations between the USSR and Rwanda, parliamentarians of the two countries pointed out their strong friendly ties in various spheres. This is stated in a communique published here today on the results of a visit to the USSR of a delegation of the National Development Council (parliament) of Rwanda led by its President Maurice Ntahobari. The delegation paid an official visit to the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) on July 23 through 31.

During the discussion of international problems the sides stated the identity of stands of the two countries on most of the questions connected with the limitation of the arms race, disarmament, the consolidation of trust and mutual understanding among nations.

The Rwandese side pointed out with satisfaction the progress achieved of late in the reduction of nuclear armaments by the USSR and the U.S. and welcomed the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the exchange of ratification instruments during Soviet-American summit meetings in Washington and Moscow respectively.

The sides expressed conviction in the need for the restructuring of international economic relations, ensuring international economic security of countries and resolving the foreign debt problem on the basis of a global and just settlement.

Soviet and Rwandese parliamentarians are seriously concerned over the remaining hotbeds of tension and conflicts in various parts of the world, including the south of Africa. The sides went on record in favour of a political settlement of any conflict situations on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and interests of all the countries. They deem it necessary to take concrete steps for putting into practice the idea of proclaiming Africa a nuclear-free zone.

Parliamentary Delegation Arrives in Burkina Faso

LD0408021388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Ouagadougou, 3 Aug (TASS)—A Soviet delegation led by Vitautas Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in Burkina Faso today at the invitation of the Popular Front leadership in order to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the August Revolution. At Ouagadougou International Airport, the delegation was met by Jean-Baptiste Lengani, member of the Popular Front Coordination Committee and minister of popular defense and security, and by other officials.

East Europe

Ministers Send Condolences on Sofia Air Crash

PM0408134788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Council of Ministers Air Crash Condolences to Bulgaria"]

[Text] To Comrade Georgiy Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers:

The USSR Council of Ministers expresses its profound condolences on the fatal air crash at Sofia airport.

We ask you to convey our most sincere sympathy to the relatives and friends of the deceased.

[Signed] The USSR Council of Ministers

Rogachev Meets With GDR's Krolikowski

LD0208103088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Krolikowski, first GDR deputy foreign minister and state secretary, has met with Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, in Berlin. Certain topical international problems were thoroughly discussed, particularly questions of expanding cooperation between the two countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Both sides positively appraised the results of the informal meeting in Bogor on settling the situation around Cambodia.

Yakovlev Holds Talks With MSZMP's Berecz

PM0308141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Comradely Meeting"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met 2 August with J. Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. Berecz is now in Moscow.

During their meeting, which was held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, certain topical issues of the development of CPSU-MSZMP ideological cooperation were discussed. Comrades A.N. Yakovlev and J. Berecz briefed each other on the implementation of their corresponding parties' program directives, and on progress in implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the all-Hungarian party conference. During the talk, a great deal of attention was devoted to questions of developing socialist theory and practice, to considering their dialectics in the parties' current policy, and to the features and content of ideological work as an inalienable component of the revolutionary renewal of socialist society and restructuring.

Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, and Jeno Andics, chief of the MSZMP Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department, also took part in the meeting.

Hungary's Grosz Discusses U.S. Visit

LD0408130688 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest August 4 TASS—The visit to the USA and Canada has become possible due above all to the positive changes in the international relations and strengthening of detente. Of no small significance is also the process of the growth of the role played by the small countries in the international cooperation system, said Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. He was addressing a meeting with Hungarian newsmen here on the results of his trip to those countries.

A significant role in organizing that visit, the Hungarian leader continued, has been played by the internal political factors in the USA: The current U.S. administration is engaged in a search for possiblities of a dialogue with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. At the same time there is yet strong prejudice towards the socialist world. Our world system is viewed as a closed, uniform bloc. Therefore it is necessary that in our propaganda socialism be presented in all of its diversity. It is necessary to make good for that shortcoming, and the pressmen can do much towards that end.

One of the causes of the grown international interest in Hungary, Karoly Grosz said, is the striving of the Hungarian society for a restructuring of the political institutions which has been supported by the all-Hungarian party conference. A source of lively interest for the Western countries, including the USA, is also our way of perfecting the economy, modernizing management and forming a system of incentives.

Speaking in a WASHINGTON POST interview, the Hungarian leader noted in particular that the improvement of Soviet-American relations leaves a favourable impact on the development of cooperation in Europe as a whole, broadens the potentialities of the socialist countries in implementing economic and political reforms.

Touching upon European security problems, Karoly Grosz stressed that the NATO member-countries have missed a good opportunity for a start of the process of reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe by failing to accept the Soviet Union's proposal on its preparedness to withdraw the aircraft concerned from the areas of forward basing in Eastern Europe on condition NATO renounces the deployment of its 72 F-16 fighter bombers in Italy.

Freight From Hungary Delayed at Border Junction

PM0108135588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent B. Rodionov followed by comment from Lvov railroad chief M. Grabskiy: "Hungary-USSR: Freight Cars on the Border"]

[Text] Budapest—There had probably never been such a news conference in Budapest before.

Following disturbing reports in the Hungarian and Soviet press about a massive bottleneck that threatens to disrupt Hungarian freight deliveries (primarily grain and meat) to the Soviet Union, journalists obtained reliable and self-critical information from the lips of authoritative spokesmen for Soviet and Hungarian foreign trade and transport organizations.

It was stated at the Budapest news conference that in the first half of July (following a lengthy period of delivery shortfalls on the Hungarian side), the Lvov railroad failed to cope with the sharp increase in the flow of freight and did not fulfill its pledges. The leadership of Hungarian Railroads was forced to impose temporary restrictions on the handling of goods for the Soviet Union. The situation is now being rectified as a result of emergency measures adopted by both sides and because of efficient collaboration between transport departments. There are now 4,150 rather than 5,400 loaded freight cars lining up on the border. When the number has been reduced to the normal level (approximately 3,000), Hungarian Railroads will lift the restrictions, which encroach on the interests of the dispatcher and the recipient of the freight.

Claims by some Hungarian papers that meat in refrigerator cars had spoiled were dismissed. Both sides confirmed that perishable freight was being transported promptly, and with minimal losses, despite the heat.

It was clear to journalists that, despite the reconstruction that is taking place, the Chop-Batevo junction that links the Soviet Union with Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other countries remains a transport bottleneck.

The news conference, which was chaired by M.S. Kozin, spokesman for the Soviet trade mission in Hungary, demonstrated that Soviet-Hungarian economic cooperation is adopting a positive approach to glasnost.

An IZVESTIYA correspondent in Lvov asked Lvov railroad chief M. Grabskiy to comment on the report from Hungary. Here is what he said:

Business relations demand the efficient fulfillment of pledges. I must say right away that this did not happen in the first half of the year. For more than 5 months our large border collective did not operate at even 50-percent capacity. Facilities were standing idle at the Chop-Batevo junction. Our partners failed to deliver all manner of freight, amounting to 715,000 tonnes. And, naturally, we had no way of meeting the freight handling target with all the consequences that this entails.

In the last 10 days of June, the number of loaded freight cars began to increase very rapidly on the other side, rising from 950 to 3,300 and then to 5,400. Although we started handling 11.5 rather than 9.5 trains a day, it was technically impossible to handle them all. Moreover, in the "close season" a good part of the work force engaged in the handling of freight had left, not wanting to work for only half-pay.

What is the situation like at the moment? We are trying to reach a figure of 13-14 trains handled per day. The Ministry of Railways has helped us with rolling stock, particularly flatcars and gondola cars. But, inevitably, there have been losses on both sides. The Hungarian side has frozen many freight cars, cars that are loaded and waiting to be transferred to us, while we have been forced to delay their freight cars longer than necessary during unloading, which costs money. As for meat in refrigerators, its handling is somewhat ahead of schedule and not a single kilogram of meet is recorded as having been lost.

Historian Views Joint Polish Commission's Work

PM0108080088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 31, 30 Jul-5 Aug (Signed to Press 28 Jul) pp 6-7

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Parsadanova, member of the joint Soviet-Polish commission, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent K. Novikov: "The Truth Is What Matters"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] For decades, many chapters in Soviet-Polish relations were, so to speak, "taboo" for historians, writers, and journalists. And the old adage that keeping quiet about a problem does not solve it was once again confirmed. A joint Soviet-Polish commission is now studying the "blank spots" in relations between the two countries. Here ARGUMENTY I FAKTY's correspondent speaks with Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Parsadanova, member of the commission.

[Novikov] What were the reasons behind the establishment of the Soviet-Polish commission? After all, the "blanks" with which it is concerned did not just develop yesterday. The majority of people have heard about them in principle before now.

[Parsadanova] Our commission was set up after Comrades Gorbachev and Jaruzelski signed the Joint Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture. It set the task, among other things, of providing a true picture, based on the documents that are now known, of the two countries' relations, both in the most complex and difficult times and in the "brighter" moments.

As for the reasons for doing so, there are several, in my view. One is certainly connected with our restructuring, first and foremost the restructuring of historical science. After all, during the years of stagnation, whether deliberately or otherwise, we simply forgot about many important matters. For instance, the latest works on a number of major problems in Soviet-Polish relations date from 1964-65. Literally only a few isolated new works appeared in the seventies. And when we remain silent, our ideological adversaries start talking. Their main argument is: "They are keeping quiet, which means they are guilty."

Another reason is the rabid anti-Sovietism in the Polish opposition press in the early eighties, which did considerable damage to public awareness and gave a distorted idea of the history of our countries' relations. Our Polish comrades have calculated that counterrevolutionary forces made use of some 3,000 items of anti-Soviet and anti-Polish literature published in the West—from pseudoscientific works laying claim to reputability, to lampoons. And three-fourths of these publications were devoted to what we call the "blank spots."

The time has come to clarify all these issues in order, as the declaration says, "to not leave unresolved problems to our children and grandchildren."

[Novikov] Who is on the commission?

[Parsadanova] There are 12-15 people on each side taking part in the work. The Soviet side is headed by Academician G. Smirnov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the Polish side by Professor J. Maciszewski, rector of the PZPR Central Committee Social Sciences Academy. The Polish comrades call it a commission of party historians, because it mainly consists of PZPR members. It also includes people who spoke out very sharply and critically on these issues in 1980-81. But there are no representatives of the opposition on the commission.

[Novikov] Articles appear in the Polish press from time to time expressing dissatisfaction with the slow work of the commission.

[Parsadanova] Indeed, the commission is being urged on, mainly by those people in Poland who are, so to speak, jealous of the questions under study but have no actual interest in their resolution. In order to fulfill the tasks entrusted to us, we decided to set up working parties on individual problems, and also to publish interim results of our activity. A detailed plan for fundamental work for the next 2 years has been drawn up.

However, I would like to stress that excessive haste would also be out of place here. You cannot construct hypotheses, for it is necessary to make a detailed analysis of all the archive documents and to study every fact in depth.

[Novikov] There is one more issue about which categorical statements are often made: the 1944 Warsaw uprising. People say that the Red Army waited at the city walls while the rising was drowned in blood by the fascists...

[Parsadanova] The opinion of not only Soviet but also Polish historians today is that under the circumstances, our troops were not capable of taking Warsaw. This is indicated by the dynamics of the fighting, the number of formations that were engaged, the Hitlerites having brought up fresh reinforcements, the number of losses, data on the lack of ammunition, and so forth. It is also confirmed by the text, published by Polish historians, of Stalin's conversation with Bierut on the subject. It is said in this conversation, in particular, that Soviet partisans and underground fighters were forbidden to organize uprisings prior to the arrival of the Soviet Army since such actions were extremely dangerous to the civilian population and at the same time yielded no military benefit.

At one time it was claimed that the USSR did not permit shuttle operations by U.S. "Flying Fortresses" which could have dropped ammunition and weapons to the rebels. But at that point the only base near Poltava that could accomodate those heavy bombers was virtually destroyed as a result of a fascist air raid. Immediately after its restoration, the first B-17's landed there.

The forms and volume of Soviet aid to the citizens of Warsaw who rebelled have been set forth in detail in the Polish and Soviet press.

[Novikov] There is another aspect of our relations that cannot but cause concern. Until recently, publications devoted to the fate of Soviet prisoners of war cited the figure of 3.9 million people killed by the fascists on Soviet territory. Only recently have reports begun to appear on the millions who were in other countries. It is claimed, in particular, that 800,000 Soviet prisoners of war were killed on Polish territory.

[Parsadanova] Indeed, until recently we used to say that 600,000 Soviet servicemen who died during the liberation of Poland were buried on Polish soil. The question of the prisoners of war who were killed there was recently raised for the first time by the Polish press, and later by ours. This question also should be studied. I personally think that the number of prisoners of war who were killed could actually be much higher. After all, a good many fascist concentration camps operated in Poland.

[Novikov] You said that the commission has to study a vast quantity of documents from that period. As I understand it, this means mainly archival documents. Are the archives helping you in your work today?

[Parsadanova] I have always called for the fullest possible disclosure of archives—after all, any conclusion by a historian should be scrupulously documented. Order most be imposed in archival work. However, at present the system is arbitrary, and there are no clear legal guidelines governing work in the archives or the times after which documents can be made available. Some archives make documents available, while others refuse to make available roughly the same documents. A historian cannot work without documents. Our archives create obstacles, for instance, to obtaining what is basically positive information that would help Polish historians and ourselves to more fully illuminate and confirm with facts now lacking the conclusions that have been drawn regarding the Warsaw uprising. As far as access to archival documents is concerned, our Polish colleagues have a much "easier life."

[Novikov] The questions the commission is studying cannot be termed easy. Every day you come up against sensitive and often tragic aspects of our relations. What is the atmosphere on the commission in view of this? And more broadly—what, in your personal opinion, is the attitude of the Poles toward our country in the light of these issues?

[Parsadanova] The atmosphere is businesslike and friendly—after all, every member of the commission is interested in resolving a common task. Sometimes disputes flare up, but we do not notice whether we are arguing with a Pole or a Soviet, for we are arguing in order to bring our viewpoints closer together for the sake of truth.

More broadly, let me answer in brief. There are tough demands for the whole truth to be uncovered. But I would not say this is anti-Sovietism. It is more a matter of coming out against those violations of legality that we ourselves are unmasking today. This is what our Polish comrades say—everything that is uncovered, published, and reported, the Poles will take note of and then stop talking about it. The truth matters.

[Novikov] I would now like to move on to the questions the commission is studying. What are the "blank spots" in our relations?

[Parsadanova] We are mainly studying questions relating to the 20th century. That means Soviet-Polish relations in 1917-21, problems relating to the Polish Communist Party and the Comintern, a range of issues associated with the beginning of World War II, and, finally, the war itself; the problem of deportation, the Warsaw uprising, Soviet-Polish combat cooperation; and international cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR.

[Novikov] Your work on the commission concerns the study of questions connected with the deportation of the Polish population from western Belorussia and the western Ukraine in the forties. What have you managed to uncover as of today?

[Parsadanova] Contrary to the assertions that are encountered in Poland on the nationalist anti-Polish nature of deportation, it affected not only Poles, but also Ukrainians, Belorussians, and persons of other nationalities. This is because it was the consequence of the class struggle and the difficulties in building soviet power in those areas. Before the war, the process of building soviet power took place under the slogan "Whoever is not with us is against us!" The result of this approach was to categorize as enemies of soviet power not only those who took up arms against it, but very many of those who were obedient to it, who would eventually have accepted it, and who were only critical of the methods used in building it. Repressions were directed against officials, the police, and the intelligentsia. They also affected people of a democratic, revolutionary mind. Legality was violated and human rights were flouted. Plans existed for exiling people—say, 1,118 families from a certain region over a certain period. And the documents of the time delightedly speak of the overfulfillment of this plan and the exiling of 1,670 families.

[Novikov] What was the fate of these people, and how many of them were there?

[Parsadanova] There are no precise figures yet, but in any event, we are talking about many hundreds of thousands of people. They ended up in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the Far East, behind barbed wire, in camps and settlements, and far from their friends and families. They shared the suffering and misfortune of millions of Soviet people. And they met with the greatest kindness from the latter. A sociological poll carried out by the Polish side among deported citizens showed that 98 percent of them noted the very warm attitude of Soviet people toward them, which often simply helped them to survive.

I would also like to note that the Polish citizens who found themselves in the eastern and northern regions of the USSR made a great contribution to the USSR's labor efforts, working on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in plants and factories, and in recovering gold and oil. For instance, 100,000 Poles worked on the construction of the Arkhangelsk Oblast railroad alone. Many joined the ranks of the two Polish armies formed in the USSR in 1941-42 and 1943-44.

West Europe

FRG's Rust Interviewed on Detention, Release

LD0308170188 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports:

Mathias Rust will surely remember this day all his life. Assistant Procurator-General of the USSR Anatoliy Vrublevskiy announced to Rust today that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has decreed to free him from the further service of his sentence and expel him from the USSR. "Thank you," said Rust. This citizen of the FRG sentenced by the collegium for criminal cases of the USSR Supreme Soviet on September 4, 1987 for illegal crossing of the state border of the USSR, violation of the rules of international flights and vicious hooliganism to four years of deprivation of freedom, has been freed from detention.

And now he gives a first brief interview. "What would you like to tell the press, Mathias"?

"First of all I would like to note that the Soviet authorities have made a humane act", Rust said. "I realize that I have committed serious criminal offences, and the fact that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet freed me from punishment before I served my term is an act of humanism. I think this also attests to the overall improvement of relations between our countries".

"Do you have any complaints to make against officials of the investigation, the court, with regard to the conditions in which you were kept in the place of detention?"

"The public prosecutor put this question to me already, and I can repeat what I have told him, that I have no complaints. As to the conditions in which I was kept, they are shown eloquently if only by the fact that I was visited by my parents who arrived from the FRG and had the opportunities to meet officials of the FRG Embassy in Moscow and my legal counsel."

The correspondent asked Rust what he intends to do at home. Is he going to work or to study, hasn't he lost the interest in aviation?

"This question is difficult to answer. I would like to ponder very seriously on my future. My greatest wish so far is to be reunited with my near and dear as soon as possible."

"And if you wish to go abroad, then you will surely do this in a legal way, with the necessary visa in the passport?"

"Surely," Rust said with a smile. In conclusion he asked again to convey through TASS his gratitude to the Soviet authorities which deemed it possible to free him from continuing to serve his sentence.

West Berlin Calls for Cuts in Forces Cited

PM0308142088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Zyubanov report: "Faction's Proposals"]

[Text] West Berlin, 30 Jul—The "Alternative List" opposition faction in the West Berlin city chamber of deputies has come out in favor of a reduction in the numerical strength of the occupying forces of the United States, Britain, and France in West Berlin.

At a news conference held here Wolfgang Wieland, chairman of the faction, proposed at the same time declaring West Berlin an "open," that is, neutral city which, in the event of a military conflict, would not become involved in hostilities.

On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, its deputy chairman Dietmar Ahrens welcomed this step by the representatives of the "Alternative List" faction in the city chamber of deputies. He stated that the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin put forward similar proposals in its election program back on 13 July. However, he said, it would be naive to suppose that the city would remain aloof in the event of a military conflict. Therefore, the object of the Communists' proposals is not to prepare for "D-day," but, on the contrary, to do everything to involve West Berlin fully in the process of European detente.

Weekly Interviews FRG's Genscher in Moscow
PM0308153888 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 9

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher in Moscow by correspondent Anatoliy Frenkin: "H.-D. Genscher: 'Restructuring at the Center of Attention'"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] H.-D. Genscher, FRG deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister, who was in Moscow on a working visit, answered questions put by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Anatoliy Frenkin:

[Frenkin] Mr Minister, what are your impressions of your meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee?

[Genscher] I met with General Secretary Gorbachev 2 years ago. This time, during the talk, which was rich and intensive, Mr M.S. Gorbachev's assessments of the processes taking place in the USSR were of particular interest. What I would call new, compared with our first talk, was the fact that ideas on economic reform have become more concrete. The changes taking place in the Soviet Union are of significance not only for the USSR itself, but also for all other countries, the FRG included.

People in our country are watching your restructuring with great interest. The Soviet Union's greater openness will promote stability in international relations. We reached the common opinion that in cultural cooperation a special role is played by an awareness of the common history of the European peoples and their contribution to all-European culture. It is in the interests of all the European peoples to recognize our common responsibility for the continent's future. And this European self-awareness must be strengthened.

The Budapest forum put forward the idea of broader European cultural cooperation. Discussions between representatives of the countries participating in the Helsinki process in this area would be useful.

[Frenkin] How do you assess the prospects for EEC-CEMA cooperation in connection with plans to create a "single market" in Europe?

[Genscher] Important steps to create a "single market" are indeed being taken in Europe. With the creation of such a market within the EEC framework, the potential for cooperation and openness increases. The EEC is not closed, it is oriented toward cooperation with other countries. I see great opportunities for those who really want economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. That applies to the CEMA countries too. Perhaps it is important to note today that the first accords in this direction already exist between the EEC and CEMA.

CPSU Delegation Leaves for Visit to FRG
LD0308135188 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Today a CPSU delegation led by Yevgeniy Razumov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy head of the Organizational-Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, departed from Moscow for the FRG at the invitation of the leadership of the German Communist Party.

DKP Delegation Studies Employment Issues
PM0308094988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Text] A German Communist Party [DKP] delegation, headed by J. Mandel, leader of the DKP Board working group on unemployment, was in our country 25 July through 1 August. The delegation had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department and International Department, the AUCCTU, and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, traveled to the Belorussian SSR, and visited industrial enterprises.

Showing a lively interest in the process of restructuring in the USSR and in the changes in the political, economic, and social spheres, the FRG Communists, who are active members of the unemployed people's movement, were particularly interested in acquainting themselves with the implementation of the right to work in the Soviet Union and also with the problem of finding work for Soviet working people as a result of the release of manpower in connection with the introduction of new equipment and technology. The delegation members talked about the activity of action groups and centers of the unemployed people's movement and Communists' involvement in them.

Greek-U.S. Talks on Military Bases Fail
PM0208145188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent G. Shakhunyan dispatch: "Eighth Round Produces No Results"]

[Text] Athens—The eighth round of Greek-U.S. talks on a bilateral agreement on cooperation in the sphere of economics and defense, regulating inter alia the presence of U.S. military bases on Greek territory, has ended unsuccessfully. The current agreement signed by the A. Papandreou government in 1983 runs out this December.

An official statement stresses that "the sides failed to draw closer" on the fundamental questions on which Greek-U.S. relations could be based in the defense sphere.

Washington, as is well known, is insisting on retaining four major military bases and several other military installations on Greek territory. The Americans are not only objecting to the reduction of their military presence, but are trying to make the Greek side liable for any expenses linked with a possible transfer of the Hellenikon Air Force Base near Athens to another, "quieter" location.

The Greek Socialist Government advocates in principle the elimination of any foreign military presence on its country's territory, since it believes that military bases do not serve national interests and harm the country's sovereignty and independence. Under pressure from overseas, Athens has, however, agreed to examine the prospects for working out a new Greek-U.S. agreement on military bases and has demanded that the U.S. provide security guarantees for its eastern borders with its NATO ally—Turkey.

It should be noted that the current Greek Government proceeds on the basis that the military threat to the country comes from Turkey, rather than from the Warsaw Pact countries, against whom the American military bases are aimed. As proof of its resolve to defend its interests, Greece recently notified the United States of its intention to end the current 5-year agreement. On 31 December 1988, the Greek note states, the U.S. bases will legally cease to exist and the "ongoing Greek-U.S. talks will start from scratch"—which to all intents and purposes would mean that they would last indefinitely.

The opposition parties and the local press, however, are skeptical about the government's official statements, stressing that they look like electioneering and are aimed at confusing the Greek people about the actual policy over the U.S. military presence. The newspaper PROTI writes, for instance, that a new defense agreement with the United States will not be able to guarantee the country's security and national interests.

Hellenikon Base To Close

LD0308164688 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Athens August 3 TASS—The Greek Government has reiterated its decision to close the U.S. Hellenikon Air Base near Athens.

Commenting on the reports in the press to the effect that the base will be transferred to the Crete Island, a government spokesman said here today that "one of the decisions of the Greek Government is...the abolition of the Hellenikon base". He specified that the abolition of the base did not mean its transfer to the Gulf of Souda in Crete or to any other part of the island as it was reported by the press.

The government spokesman touched upon the progress at Greek-American talks on the future of U.S. military installations in Greece. He said that the Greek side had pointed out on more than one occasion that the talks were to be difficult and were to take up much time.

He recalled that any new agreement should include guarantees of ensuring supreme national interests of Greece and pointed out that the problem of guarantees had been emphasized personally by Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece. The government spokesman recommended U.S. officials to take into consideration the stand of the Greek Government before making pointless and improper statements.

Akhromeyev Welcomes Finnish Army Chief to Moscow

PM0308113588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Excerpt] General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Finnish Defense Forces, arrived 2 August on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR deputy defense minister.

The guests and the officials accompanying him were met at Sheremetevo Airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev and other officials. [passage omitted]

Italy's Defense Minister on Gorbachev Proposal

LD0308195588 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Rome August 3 TASS—Italy's Defence Minister Valerio Zanone pointed to the importance of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal with regard to 72 F-16 fighter bombers, which envisages that if NATO agrees not to deploy them in Italy, the USSR would be prepared to withdraw its aircraft of a similar kind from forward-basing positions in Eastern Europe. Valerio Zanone held a news conference here today on the results of one year of the activity of the Defence Ministry.

Zanone said that this proposal should be discussed at a subsequent stage of the talks between Moscow and Washington. It follows from Zanone's speech that Italy is not going to revise its decision with regard to F-16 aircraft, in accordance with which its fighter bombers will be redeployed in the course of three years at Crotone Base in south Italy from Spain. The minister emphasized that the NATO countries have assumed financial obligations to divide equally their expenditures connected with the redeployment and stationing of these planes in Italy.

A considerable part of Zanone's speech was devoted to the mission of the Italian naval force in the Persian Gulf. The minister described it as positive. He said that Italy is pressing for the implementation of the principle of free shipping for its merchant ships and holds in this matter a position "equidistant" from Baghdad and Tehran.

The minister dwelt at the news conference also on questions of military cooperation in the framework of the Western European union and pointed to the importance of its further deepening. He also pointed to the need for improving the pattern of Italy's national defence.

Dorbynin Talks With PCE Leader Reported

PM0308142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has met with J. Anguita, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], who is vacationing in the Soviet Union. The CPSU and PCE representatives exchanged information on their parties' activities and also discussed questions of the development of CPSU-PCE relations.

The coincidence of the assessments of the present-day international situation was noted with satisfaction, and the two parties' readiness to actively collaborate in strengthening security and cooperation in Europe and developing Soviet-Spanish relations was expressed.

The PCE secretary general expressed support for the process of revolutionary changes that have taken place in Soviet society under the CPSU's leadership, stressing that the success of restructuring in the Soviet Union enhances socialist prestige worldwide.

A.F. Dobrynin wished Spanish Communists successes in their struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress and for the restoration of unity to their ranks.

Noting the progress in developing interparty ties, the sides advocated making them more stable and multifaceted.

G.M. Korniyenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the talk, which was held in an atmosphere of comradely interest and friendship.

Statement Protests Turkish Communists' Trial

PM0308092588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Joint Statemnent by 28 European Communist Parties"]

[Text] As was reported in PRAVDA on 31 July, the trial of Turkish Communist leaders H. Kutlu and N. Sargin is continuing in Ankara. This disgraceful trial is causing extensive protests among the international democratic public. Some 28 European communist parties have adopted a joint statement in this connection. It says:

On 16 November last year Communist Party of Turkey [TCP] General Secretary Haydar Kutlu and Turkish Labor Party General Secretary N. Sargin returned to their country from exile with the intention of setting up a legal joint communist party which would be able to participate openly in the country's political life.

They were immediately arrested in full view of parliamentarians and lawyers from many European countries who were accompanying them.

They were tortured in jail. They are being persecuted for dissidence and, in breach of human rights, they face the threat of the severest punishment.

The repeatedly interrupted trial is taking place in conditions under contravention of the right to defense.

The communist parties salute the courage of H. Kutlu and N. Sargin and assure them of their full fraternal support. They are delighted to note the presence of an extensive movement for their release, bringing together political forces, deputies, lawyers, and men and women of different views and from different parties and pledge to contribute to stepping up actions in defense of freedom and humanity. They demand of the Turkish authorities:

—the immediate release of Haydar Kutlu, Nihat Sargin, and those charged with them;

—a general amnesty for people imprisoned for ideological reasons;

—the legalization of the TCP and all democratic organizations;

—the unimpeded implementation of trade union and political freedoms.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Pressure on Central American States Scored

LD0308225588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 3 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; B. Kalyagin report over video]

[Text] President Reagan has called upon the U.S. Congress to resume aid to the contras, including the granting of $20 million to them for military purposes. Representatives of the administration have begun working to influence the legislators on Capitol Hill. [video shows outside of White House and street scenes]

At the same time, it was decided to secure support for this decision from Central Amerian regimes friendly to Washington. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz set off on a tour of Latin American countries for this purpose. It was proposed that after his meeting in the Guatemalan capital with the foreign ministers of Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and El Salvador a communique would be published making accusations against the Sandinist government, and this, according to the administration's plans, would have an appropriate effect on the U.S. Congress. [video of Shultz meeting other foreign ministers]

The text of the communique was prepared beforehand in the U.S. State Department. THE NEW YORK TIMES carried extracts from the document even prior to the departure of Shultz on his trip. However, things misfired, and the Governments of Guatemala and Costa Rica refused to sign a communique containing attacks on Nicaragua. It is clear to everyone that the adoption of such a statement would have undermined efforts directed at a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America. Moreover, as an official Guatemalan representative noted, it would have shown to the whole world that the policy of the Central American states is conducted according to what the United States dictates.

The communique that was adopted does not contain attacks on Nicaragua. However this does not mean that the White House has given up its plans to resume military aid to the counterrevolutionaries. The pressure on Congress is continuing. [video shows Shultz and other foreign ministers after the meeting]

U.S. Envoy's Remarks in El Salvador Cited

PM0308141888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Listov report under the rubric "Their Morality": "From an Imperial Standpoint"]

[Text] Mexico City, 30 Jul—It is not unknown for American ambassadors in developing countries to sometimes to conduct themselves unethically, to put it mildly, with regard to the host country and its customs. Washington's envoys are notable for a particular unceremoniousness in the countries of Latin America, which many of them still regard as the U.S.'s "backyard." And as for those regimes in Central America and the Caribbean whose very existence depends exclusively on Washington's dollar injections, here "their excellencies" forget entirely about their status and that they are in a foreign country, not at home somewhere on a ranch in California or Texas....

The other day another scandal with an American ambassador as its "hero" erupted in El Salvador.

Edwin Corr—that is the name of his Washington "excellency"—who is now preparing to return to the United States, delivered a farewell speech at the local chamber of trade. After beginning by saying that "economic, political, and social reforms in El Salvador have been effective," Corr set about distributing, as the saying goes, fair shares for all. He called the participants in demonstrations held by the opposition "vandals in disguise," explaining that this applies equally to the students of the autonomous university and the members of various organizations of working people. Opposition groups who do not agree with the policy of the puppet President Duarte were described as a "screen" behind which the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front operates, and he called for "force to be used to make them behave properly."

It may be supposed that when Corr said that "the worst mistake El Salvador could have made was to yield to the unconstitutional (?) demands of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front," the participants in the meeting even applauded him a little. Nor were there any objections when he called for a "speedy and impartial" investigation of political crimes and the punishment of the culprits—which is how Salvadoran businessmen, like the entire ruling clique, regard the patriots who have taken up arms against the "legitimate power." (Naturally, Corr did not say a word about the fact that in the first 6 months of this year alone government troops and "death squads" have dealt with 272 patriots, another 88 have "disappeared," and nearly 1,000 Salvadorans have been arrested.)

But when the American ambassador started pinning labels on the leaders of the two leading bourgeois parties—the ruling Christian Democratic Party and the extreme right Nationalist Republican Alliance—then, you may imagine, the audience were not inclined to applaud. Concerning the former, Edwin Corr said that in that party, "a group of leaders who are considered competent, industrious, and honest compete with a group of people who are accused of corruption and whose professional training and activity is called into question."

He spoke still more sharply about the Nationalist Republican Alliance: In that party, he stated, "leaders who are capable, honest, and knowledgeable are engaged in a struggle against a group that many accuse of having links with tyranny, killings, and authoritarianism...." The Salvadoran Christian Democrats and the Nationalist Republican Alliance are certainly of a pro-American orientation, but even they could not stand this. Their factions in the legislative assembly demanded that the ambassador be censured for this unceremonious interference in the country's internal affairs. Although he did not point the finger at Corr, President Duarte was forced publicly to condemn his "tactlessness."

Matters did not go so far as to declare the ambassador who had lost his sense of proportion persona non grata—and how could they throw him out, when American aid to the Duarte regime totals $1.5 million a day?! But his conduct is revealing in two ways. It testifies to the morality that prevails in the U.S. State Department. And still more to that department's desire to resolve affairs (including internal affairs!) in El Salvador—and, incidentally, throughout Central America—to suit themselves, from the old imperial standpoints.

Nicaragua's Borge Praises Panama's 'Firmness'

LD3007093488 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Mexico City July 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Fesenko:

The aggressive actions of the USA against Panama are akin to Washington's hostile policy vis-a-vis Nicaragua. Both are parts of the White House strategy in Latin America, which was outlined for the Reagan administration in 1980 by the American hawks, said Tomas Borge, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, Nicaragua's minister of the interior.

In an interview with the Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR he spoke highly of the firmness displayed by the Panamanian Government and its defence forces. Washington, Tomas Borge noted, believes that it could use Panama for implementing its plans to stifle the Nicaraguan revolution. Panama's refusal to be led by the USA in its aggressive designs in Central America infuriated the White House.

Speaking on the situation in his country, the Nicaraugan minister of the interior stressed that the contras had suffered a military strategic defeat and their ranks have been split. The expulsion of U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton, who crudely interfered in Nicarauga's home affairs, is used by certain circles in Washington as a pretext for building up enmity against the Sandanists. Yet despite that, despite the wish of the U.S. Administration to reconcile the squabbling counter-revolutionary chiefs and resume aid to them, Nicaragua does not wish to sever relations with the USA. Managua reaffirms its preparedness to carry on talks with Washington in Manzanillo (Mexico), or in any other place, Tomas Borge said.

Solidarity Delegation Visits Panama

LD3107161688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] At the invitation of the (?Torrijos) Fund, a delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America has been to Panama. In the course of the visit, meetings were held with the leaders of the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party, the People's Party of Panama, permanent conferences of the socialist parties of Latin America, various public organizations, and with journalists.

At the request of the Panamanian side, the members of the delegation supplied detailed information on the course of the main decisions of the 19th CPSU Party Conference. The members of the Soviet delegation expressed solidarity with Panama's struggle for true national independence and against foreign interference in the internal affairs of the republic.

Reportage on Supreme Soviet Members Bolivian Tour

Talks Held

PM0308153188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation in Bolivia"]

[Text] La Paz, 2 Aug—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has been received during its visit here by Bolivian Vice President Julio Garrett Ayllon. A number of international political questions of common interest were discussed during their conversation, in which Ciro Humboldt, speaker of the National Congress Senate, and Willy Vargas, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, participated.

The Bolivian vice president spoke highly of the Soviet foreign policy course aimed at eliminating nuclear arsenals on the earth by the year 2000, particularly the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. He stressed that the Soviet policy of ensuring lasting peace for all the peoples is in developing countries' interests. J. Garrett Ayllon pointed out the connection between the problems of the struggle for peace and real disarmament and problems of development. The Bolivian leader expressed deep satisfaction at the proposal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to create an International Development Fund utilizing resources released in the course of disarmament.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation head briefed the Bolivian leaders on the processes of restructuring in the USSR in the political, economic, and social spheres and expounded the basic provisions of the resolutions passed by the 19th all-union party conference.

We welcome, J. Garrett Ayllon said, the processes of democratization and restructuring taking place in the USSR, which have had an international impact. They are helping to strengthen a climate of trust in relations among states with different social systems and gradually put a stop to regional conflicts.

A meeting between the Soviet delegation and Bolivian Foreign Minister Guillermo Bedregal took place the same day. A number of international problems, notably the Central American crisis and progress in implementing the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, were discussed during their conversation, which was conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding. G. Bedregal pointed out that Bolivia is an active member of the Nonaligned Movement and has consistently advocated the practical implementation of the principles of international law, particularly noninterference in other peoples' internal affairs, national sovereignty, and complete independence. It was noted with satisfaction during the conversation that certain positive shifts have been observable of late in the sphere of Soviet-Bolivian relations.

A special session of the La Paz City Council was held here to mark the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to Bolivia.

Depart Bolivia

LD0308201388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] La Paz 3 Aug (TASS)—The visit to Bolivia by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, led by P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has ended. A joint Soviet-Bolivian press statement records the main results of the talks held between the Soviet parliamentarians and Bolivian leaders.

The Soviet delegation was seen off at El Alto International Airport by members of the National Congress (the parliament) of Bolivia, representatives of the leadership of the Foreign Ministry, and other officials.

Arrive in Peru

LD0308210588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Lima, 3 Aug (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived here on a working visit on its way home.

Peruvian officials met the delegation at the international airport of the Peruvian capital.

Political & Social

Prosecutor Previews Churbanov Trial

PM0308115588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 4

[Interview with A. Sboyev, senior official of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, by correspondent A. Nadzharov, followed by author's afterword: "Accused of Bribery"—place, date of interview not given; first paragraph in italics as published]

[Text] *It has already been reported that the investigation of the case of Churbanov, former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; Yakhyayev, former Uzbek SSR minister of internal affairs; Kakhramanov and Begelman, former Uzbek deputy ministers of internal affairs; Sabirov, Makhamadzhanov, Norov, and Norbutayev, former chiefs of the Khorezm, Namangan, Bukhara, and Kashka-Darya Oblast Internal Affairs Administrations respectively; and Dzhamalov, former chief of the Tashkent Internal Affairs Administration, has been concluded. The investigation materials have been passed to the USSR Supreme Court, whose Military Collegium will examine the filed charges at an open trial. Major General of Justice M. Marov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium, who will chair the hearing, announced that A. Sboyev, senior official of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, has been appointed state prosecutor for the trial. SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's correspondent asked A. Sboyev to answer a number of questions concerning the forthcoming trial.*

[Nadzharov] Aleksandr Vasilyevich! What can you say about the charges which have been filed?

[Sboyev] Let me say at once that any expectations by those who would like to learn details of the crimes at this point are hardly likely to be justified. It is well known that there is such a thing as the theory and practice of the presumption of innocence. The court alone is in a position to finally determine whether a crime has been committed and, if so, the extent of anyone's complicity and guilt. For the time being, I can say that the USSR Supreme Court deemed that the evidence offers sufficient grounds to send the case for trial.

[Nadzharov] And had it not done so?

[Sboyev] The case would have been either dismissed or sent for further investigation.

[Nadzharov] When is the trial due to open?

[Sboyev] On 5 September 1988.

[Nadzharov] Could you please say a few words about the accused?

[Sboyev] They all are former officials of MVD organs, mainly generals. It has to be noted that the cases involving these people were singled out from a major case involving breaches of legality in Uzbekistan.

[Nadzharov] Why will the case be heard by a military collegium rather than an ordinary court?

[Sboyev] The law which determines jurisdiction specifies that if at least one of the accused is a serviceman—and in this case former Colonel General Churbanov is due to stand trial—the case should be heard by a military tribunal or the highest military court which, in this instance, is the USSR Supreme Court's Military Collegium. I must add that Churbanov has been stripped of his military rank by a USSR Council of Ministers decision.

[Nadzharov] He heads the list of the accused. A former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs and former chief of MVD political organs. As a matter of fact, only one of his "offices" cannot be described as former. Churbanov is Brezhnev's son-in-law. Could this be reason why the USSR Prosecutor's Office was unable to institute proceedings against him for almost 18 months?

[Sboyev] This is not so. This is not at all a case of family ties. We have inherited from the stagnation period a system whereby people who have held certain offices are protected from justice. At various times Churbanov was a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, a member of the Central Auditing Commission, and finally a deputy enjoying immunity as enshrined in legislation. Today none of this helps to evade responsibility. But the coordinating mechanism is still functioning rather slowly.

[Nadzharov] What are the charges against Churbanov?

[Sboyev] He is accused of taking bribes from leaders of the Uzbek MVD, chiefs of several oblast internal affairs administrations in the republic, and other officials in the late seventies and early eighties. The total amount mentioned in the charge is R656,883.

[Nadzharov] Has Churbanov admitted his guilt?

[Sboyev] He admitted it during the inquiry. But the final decision will be made by the court and by the court alone. My own role in the trial boils down to pursuing the charges and presenting all the facts of the case before the court. Including any mitigating circumstances.

[Nadzharov] Are there any?

[Sboyev] Churbanov was sincerely repentant during the inquiry and actively assisted the investigation, specifically reporting a series of unknown episodes....

[Nadzharov] ...And probably returning all the money to the state?

[Sboyev] He returned money and various items of jewelry to a total of R28,000.

[Nadzharov] All right, let us reserve our judgment regarding the sincerity of this repentance. Let us wait for the court's decision. Nevertheless, could you say a few more words about how the accused themselves assess their actions?

[Sboyev] In the course of the inquiry, all nine of them realized their guilt and actively assisted the investigation. True enough, only one of them returned the money acquired by unlawful means. As regards two other accused persons in addition to the aforementioned—former Uzbek Internal Affairs Minister Ergashev and his deputy Davydov—the case against them has been dismissed; they both committed suicide, obviously wishing to evade responsibility.

[Nadzharov] The trial will, as normal, also hear witness testimonies. How many witnesses will be called at the trial, who are they?

[Sboyev] The indictment presented to the accused lists the names of more than 500 persons. Some of them have also broken the law. Others were indifferent toward these breaches. But many helped the investigation in the most direct fashion. It was thanks to these people that the investigation was completed and the case sent for trial. As regards the identity of witnesses, their names are not a secret but, for purely ethical reasons, let us refrain from publicizing their names before the trial. I will say only that they include workers, peasants, militia privates, staffers and leaders of internal affairs organs, and state and party figures.

[Nadzharov] What is the total amount of bribes involved in this case, and what valuables were confiscated in the course of the investigation?

[Sboyev] Several million rubles. Unfortunately, a lot less has been confiscated. I can add that tens of millions of rubles have been returned to state in connection with cases involving breaches of legality in Uzbekistan.

Afterword to the Interview [subhead]

Aleksandr Vasilyevich Sboyev's consent to this interview was not immediately forthcoming. It was not at all a question of wishing to somehow dampen glasnost in reporting the results of the investigation. The state prosecutor displays a perfectly understandable and justified punctiliousness in talking about matters which are due to be examined by the court.

Is there anything that stands out when you familiarize yourself with the indictment which I was shown in the USSR Supreme Court? The smooth, clear-cut, and honest life led by the accused right until the early seventies. That was the time when they diverged from the honest and straight path. They took the twisting path of greed, deception, and downfall. They were all born and raised in working families, and almost all of them achieved their official standing thanks to their personal abilities, knowledge, and energy. Their careers, of which they could be justifiably proud, essentially came to an end at the beginning of the period which has subsequently come to be known as Rashidovshchina, Brezhnevshchina, and stagnation. Judging by the evidence, however, not a single one of those who will stand trial was a blind tool in someone else's hands. They deliberately committed their crimes, copying their "idols" in everything.

It is amazing to see how the vices of the chiefs were duplicated by their subordinates at that time. Rashidov made himself a major writer, in terms of print runs at least. Gen Yakhyayev was also very successful in the literary sphere, having published five books of poems including some dedicated to the aforementioned writer. These were not their only "weaknesses." How about the prizes, titles, and orders? These people could not wait to award them to one another. Incidentally, some 8 years ago Churbanov also won a State Prize—for the Olympic Games, without being involved in them at all. Apart from having sat in the visitors' stand. He spent a few days in Afghanistan and got another award—the Combat Order of the Red Banner.

As a matter of fact, these were the procedures, or rather the rules of the game. These rules usually required that, in certain circumstances, bribe-takers turned into bribe-payers. Such charges have been filed also against Yakhyayev, Sabirov, Kakhramanov, Begelman, Norbutayev, Dzhamalov, Makhamadzhanov, and Norov. For example, former Uzbek Minister of Internal Affairs Yakhyayev is charged with having received a total of R146,153 in bribes during the 1970-1979 period and having passed R105,953 to former USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Shchelokov. Begelman, former Uzbek SSR deputy minister of internal affairs for construction matters, charged with having received R46,000 in bribes, is also charged with having paid bribes totaling R81,000 to leaders of the republic MVD and more than R200,000 to Churbanov.

One might ask: Did he pay over more than he received? Unfortunately, we are talking only about evidence procured during the investigation. Let me remind readers that judgment on everything can be passed by the court alone.

Dozens of witnesses claim that matters in Uzbekistan's law enforcement organs were run so that simply nothing could be done without "palm greasing." Virtually every move by the high ranking patron had to be paid for.

I perceived something strange in looking through the service records of the accused. At the moment of total exposure and collapse of their careers, a matter of days before their arrests, virtually all of them were holding new leadership offices. Begelman was working as deputy director of the "Uzbytplastik" Production Association, Yakhyayev had appointed himself deputy chairman of the republic Committee of People's Control. Kakhramanov, charged with receiving bribes totaling R61,000, found himself an educator of youth as director of the Tashkent Printing Technical College. The other accused were not ignored by the leadership's concern, either. Churbanov, for example, following his dismissal as first deputy minister and right until September 1986, held office as chief of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Political Directorate.

What is all this?—I thought to myself. Could it be that a position of leadership is in itself a guarantee against returning to rank and file work? How can someone who has lost his prestige, who has been disgraced and accused of unseemly behavior, still remain a leader? Is the inertia of the past still so strong? It is this past that will stand trial on 5 September. The past for the sake of the future.

Politburo Commission Examines Stalin Trials

LD0408115188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] The commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for additional study of material connected with the repressions during the 1930's, 1940's and at the beginning of the 1950's at its latest session examined material connected with the judicial rehabilitation of persons who were convicted of charges in the so-called cases of the Union of Marxist-Leninists, the Moscow Center, the anti-Soviet United Trotskiy-Zinoviev Center and the parallel anti-Soviet Trotskiyite Center.

A report by the USSR Supreme Court was heard on the results of the examination of the USSR procurator general's protests concerning these cases. It was established that the investigations of these cases had grossly violated the law. The plenum of the USSR Supreme Soviet has complied with the procurator general's protest, revoked the sentences, and closed the cases due to absence of corpus delicti [sostav prestupleniya].

Cognizance has been taken of the report of the USSR Supreme Court on the results of the examination of these cases and on the judicial rehabilitation of persons who were unlawfully repressed. The commission is continuing its work.

Economic Situations of Armenia, Azerbaijan

Armenian Enterprises Retain Deficit

NC0408082688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text]Last month was a particularly difficult period for our republic and inasmuch as its indices are not included in the semiannual report of the Armenian Statistical Administration, the newspaper reports that in July 318 out of the 440 enterprises met their contractual obli tions with their partners in full. Industry as a whole, however, failed to completely bridge the created deficit.

Azerbaijan Economic Statistics

NC0408074188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] The report released by the Azerbaijan SSR State Statistics Committee on the republic's social and economic development during the first 6 months of 1988 was published in the press today. The report said that the plan targets were generally realized during the January-June period. The effort made by the establishments in the industrial sector, as well as in the other economic domains, to operate in accordance with the economic measures and to attain self-sufficiency has begun to have positive effects on the plans and the indexes. The income of [words indistinct] has increased by (?4.3) percent. The purchase of the main livestock breeding products also has increased.

The social aspect of the republic's economic development has strengthened. The pace of the effort made to commission [word indistinct] and other social and cultural establishments has been stepped up. Nevertheless, the deficiencies which existed in the work carried out by a number of economic establishments and the shortcomings which prevailed in a number of economic domains were removed at a slow pace.

The section of the report which dealt with the effort made to intensify productivity in social life revealed that the supply of modern technical equipment to the production sectors has increased. At the same time, the pace of restructuring in the production sectors has been upgraded. [passage indistinct] As far as the production of machinery, tools, and other equipment is concerned, the volume of products manufactured in accordance with international standards totalled 47.6 percent of the overall production, which is more than the planned figure.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes allocated 32,000 hectares of land for the cultivation of leguminous summer plants on the basis of intensified industrialized methods. This figure represents 72 percent of the total area of the lands allocated for that purpose.

New equipment and installations have been put into operation. However, significant backwardness was allowed in that regard. Twenty-one of the 30 establishments which either were put into operation or reconstructed from 1987 to 1988 failed to fully utilize the equipment which they had been supplied with in accordance with the plans.

A total of 129,000 tons (?of fuel), 23,000 tons of [words indistinct], 23,000 tons of cement, and 21,000 cubic meters of [words indistinct] were used in the economic field during the January-June 1988 period.

The republic's construction materials industry sector fulfilled the plans concerning the production of construction materials during the first 6 months of 1988. However, removing the backwardness in the production of the materials required for the construction of [word indistinct] has not been possible.

The food industry establishments, which are affiliated with the agroindustrial complex, have generally fulfilled the plans concerning the production of the most important varieties of their food products during the January-June period. [passage indistinct]

Compared with the January-June period in 1987, the biweekly wages of workers and employees in the economic domain rose from R162.40 to R167.80 during the first half of 1988, an increase of 3.3 percent. The wages of the workers employed by the kolkhozes increased from R114 to R120.

A total of 489,300 square meters of residential buildings were constructed with the funds that were made available by the state, housing cooperatives, and social organizations. The number of residential buildings constructed during the January-June 1988 period on the basis of the state funds is 7 percent more than the number of the buildings constructed on the basis of state funds during the same period in 1987.

Azerbaijan Trade Union Council Holds Plenum

NC0308085988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 2 Aug 88

[From the review of the Republican press]

[Text] The plenum that was held by the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions witnessed an open and sharp debate on the guidance given by the Council of Trade Unions Presidium on the restructuring of the work of the Azerbaijan SSR trade union organizations. The newspapers report that the discussion at the plenum also focused on the tasks of the Republic's trade unions derived from the decisions adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Lidiya Rasulova, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions, delivered a report at the meeting.

Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets

Implementing Conference Decisions

AU0208134788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "A Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] A routine session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held recently.

The Presidium approved a plan for organizing work connected with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. Broad measures were drawn up to boost the organizing role of soviets in settling problems concerning economic and sociocultural construction on the territories within their jurisdiction, the invigorated activity of deputies, and the engagement of the working people and the entire population in taking the measures. Immediate tasks were determined to implement the CPSU Conference resolutions and to reform the political system, and the main lines were drawn for work to deepen restructuring and in the sphere of relations among nationalities, glasnost, legal reform, and the struggle against bureaucratism.

Cooperation between Kharkov City soviets and the labor collectives of enterprises and organizations in accomplishing socioeconomic tasks was examined. A report was delivered by S.N. Sokolovskiy, gorispolkom chairman. [passage omitted]

The session discussed the way the republic's state organs and fish farming organizations comply with the requirements of nature protecting legislation in protecting, rationally utilizing, and reproducing fish resources in the inland waters of the Ukrainian SSR. [passage omitted]

Also some other questions concerning the republic's state life were examined.

Participating in the discussion on the topics were V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; A.A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary; V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Trade Unions Council chairman; and others.

Half-Year Results Examined

AU0108180688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 27 Jul 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers was held on 25 July to examine the results of fulfilling the state plan for the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR state budget in the first half of 1988, the measures taken to fulfill the annual plan, and the performance of enterprises and organizations under the USSR law on the state enterprise (association). Reports on these issues were delivered by C.P. Fokin, Ukrainian SSR Gosplan chairman, and I.A. Zabrodin, Ukrainian SSR minister of finance.

Guided by the decisions, conclusions, and evaluations of the 19th all-union party conference with regard to deepening restructuring and the consistent accomplishment of radical economic reform, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers thoroughly analyzed the state of affairs in the republic's national economy and adopted an appropriate decision.

The main planned half-year tasks were accomplished. The switchover of some enterprises and organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing has had a positive impact on the settlement of many production and social problems. Compared with the corresponding period of 1987, the volume of industrial production increased 5 percent, against the 4 percent targeted under the 5-year plan. The contract obligations were discharged 99.1 percent, against the 98.1 percent in the first half of 1987. Labor productivity in industry rose 5.9 percent, against the 4 percent targeted under the 5-year plan. The entire increase in the volume of production was achieved by increasing labor productivity and reducing the number of workers.

The output and procurement of stockbreeding produce increased. Purchases of animals and poultry in the republic as a whole rose 3 percent, and those of milk, 10 percent.

In capital construction, the program for contractual works was fulfilled, and labor productivity rose. Transportation in the republic accomplished the planned tasks, and filled state orders for the transportation of freight and passengers.

The 6-month plan for house commissioning was exceeded by 10 percent; the area put into service totaled 4.2 million square meters. Plans were also overfulfilled for putting into service schools, children's preschool establishments, vocational and technical schools, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, and houses of culture. The volume targeted for rendering services to the population was exceeded.

In the first half of 1988, the Ukrainian state budget for revenues was fulfilled 101.04 percent.

At the same time, the session noted that the state of affairs in the economy was improving slowly. Many ministries, departments, and oblispolkoms in the republic have failed to change their style of work under the law on the state enterprise (association), have not given enterprises and associations practical assistance in switching over to the new management conditions, and have not provided the necessary conditions to accomplish a radical turn in socioeconomic development.

The tasks set under the state order for the production of a number of important products were not accomplished, and 11.5 percent of the industrial associations and enterprises failed to cope with the contractual obligations.

In increasing production efficiency and stabilizing economic growth, insufficient efforts were made to put into effect factors as decisive as scientific-technological progress, the renewing of fixed assets, and resource saving.

An appreciable improvement in the quality of products has not been made, the financial situation of a significant number of enterprises has remained unstable, and at many of them—particularly under the Ukrainian SSR Ministries of the Light Industry and of the Forestry Industry, and under the State Agro-Industrial Committee—wages have been increasing faster than labor productivity. The cash incomes of the population have not been balanced with expenditures.

Crop harvesting and storing operations have not been organized well in all oblasts and there are grain losses.

Appropriate efforts have not been made everywhere to strengthen the feed base for stockbreeding and to provide livestock with full-value fodder, although the conditions and opportunities for this were present. In a number of oblasts—particularly in Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Dnepropetrovsk, Chernigov, Kiev, and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts—the pace of fodder procurement has been slow, and a significant lag has been permitted compared with 1987. Insufficient use has been made of potential livestock productivity, and the number of animals has been needlessly reduced.

The population's needs for meat and milk products have not been fully met.

The situation in capital construction has remained strained. Many tasks for putting into service production capacities and facilities in the sociocultural sphere have not been accomplished. The lag incurred in the construction of light industry enterprises is very great. Ukrainian SSR ministers V.P. Salo and G.G. Nikitenko along with oblispolkoms have been commissioned to examine the situation at every project and to take the necessary steps.

The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Construction, Dnepropetrovsk, Kirovograd, and Crimean Oblispolkoms were subject to sharp criticism for the failure to take appropriate measures in order to complete projects that should have been completed a long time ago. The explanations given by A.M. Roshchupkin, Crimean Oblispolkom chairman, who tried to justify the failure to put into service the drama theater in Simferopol by objective causes, were found groundless and contradictory to the present requirements.

Allocations for housing construction have been inadequately used in Sumy, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Cherkassy Oblasts; those for the construction of schools, in Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Odessa, and Kherson Oblasts; and those for the construction of preschool establishments, in Nikolayev, Poltava, and Ternopol Oblasts.

The session particularly emphasized the need to find additional possibilities to produce consumer goods. The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of the Light Industry has fallen far short of the targets for the supply to the consumers. Contractual obligations for the supply of garments, footwear, and fabrics have not been met, and the practice of removing cheap goods from production is continuing. Many oblispolkoms and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of the Light Industry still have not completed their work to contractually bind associations and enterprises to supply consumer goods to trade organizations. Because of the insufficient production of goods for the population with the necessary quality and choice, and because of the shortcomings in the organization of trade, the republic fell short of the plan for retail commodity turnover. The performance of trade organizations within the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, as well as in Odessa, Kharkov, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, Vinnitsa, and Poltava Oblasts has been particularly poor.

Volyn, Voroshilovgrad, and Donetsk Oblasts are not coping with the tasks set for provision of consumer services.

The session emphasized the pressing need to settle, without delay, the problems concerning the preparations of the national economy for work in the fall-winter season. There are lags in the work of individual projects under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, as well as in housing and municipal services in Vinnitsa, Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Odessa, Lvov, and Ternopol Oblasts.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has obligated Ukrainian SSR ministers, department leaders, oblispolkom and gorispolkom chairmen to thoroughly examine the causes of the omissions and shortcomings incurred in the work performed in the first half of the year and, in line with the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, to take concrete practical measures in order to significantly raise the level of management in all economic branches, and to insure that the 1988 plan is fulfilled for all indexes. They are also expected to establish strict control over the preparations of all enterprises in the sphere of material production for completing their switch over to the new management conditions in 1989, to provide conditions for promoting the initiative and independence of enterprises, and for the wide application of economic accountability relations, to make flexible use of various forms of collective and leasing contracts, of various kinds of cooperation and individual labor activity; to take urgent steps in order to eliminate shortcomings in the organization of harvesting, to improve the safety and sales of agricultural produce, and to raise stockbreeding productivity; and to ensure that national economic branches are on time and well prepared for their work in the fall-winter season.

The Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, Gossnab, Ministry of Finance, as well as other ministries and departments have been instructed to pay particular attention to further improvements in the practice of planning, to determine comprehensively substantiated economic norms and the limits of state orders, to improve the financial situation of enterprises and organizations, and to expand wholesale trade in the means of production.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has called on Ukrainian SSR ministers, department leaders, oblispolkom and gorispolkom chairmen to take into consideration that, in drafting the 1989 plan, the proportions of the state order will be limited, and to take effective steps to conclude, on time, economic agreements for the next year.

Those participating in the session of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers were V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Trade Unions Council chairman; and S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary.

The session was chaired and addressed by V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman.

Decree Transforms Administration

AU0108164088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Jul 88 p 1

["A Decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves

1—to transform the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Labor into the Union-Republic State Committee of the Ukrainian SSR for Labor and Social Problems;

2—to transform obkom and gorkom sections for labor into obkom and gorkom sections (administrations) for labor and social problems.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The city of Kiev, 25 July 1988.

Panteleyev Renamed Committee Chairman

AU0108164188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Jul 88 p 1

["A Decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Nikolay Alekseyevich Panteleyev as chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The city of Kiev, 25 July 1988

Tatar Minister on Obstacles to Foreign Trade

PM2907130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by R. Muratov, Tatar ASSR trade minister: "Departmental Embraces, or Who Is Preventing Enterprises From Independently Trading Abroad"]

[Text] Kazan—As is well known, in the last 2 years our country has adopted a series of measures designed to improve the foreign economic activity of ministries and departments in the new economic management conditions.

First business contacts with foreign firms have been established by our own ministry, which is responsible for intermediary activity to coordinate work with industrial enterprises in its region and with the All-Russian "Rosvneshtorg" Association formed under the RSFSR Council of Ministers. This year the ministry and the Tatar ASSR Potrebsoyuz have reached agreement on direct trade operations with colleagues from Poland and Czechoslovakia. A long-term program of mutually advantageous economic cooperation with the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (Yugoslavia) has been decided. On the basis of this document enterprises in the construction industry and some installations belonging to the food industry, trade, and public catering in the Tatar ASSR will be built, modernized, or retooled. Departments selling goods obtained as a result of reciprocal trade operations are to be opened in stores in Kazan and Titograd.

It is rather too early, however, to start slapping ourselves on the back. We have come up against some departmental obstacles in the process of putting our plans into action.

Take the Kazan Leather Association. For many years it has exported goods on the basis of schedule orders from the "Soyuzpushnin" Foreign Trade Association. Raw material was sent abroad from Kazan but the people of Kazan did not get a kopek of foreign currency in return. The association was unable to renew its equipment and improve its working conditions. Finally, an agreement was reached on reciprocal trade operations with Montenegro. For the sake of improvements in technology and its cultural and social conditions, the collective is prepared to suffer temporary hardship to export raw material in excess of the state order by working overtime. But the leaders of the Kazan Association have received a threatening warning from Comrade Senchilo, chief of "Roskozhprom," in Moscow: If you start fulfilling a dispatch contract you can wave goodbye to your jobs.

Meanwhile, a serious situation has taken shape here. Because of the useless performance given by old equipment, large, above-norms stocks have accumulated (more than 80,000 cattle skins), the enterprise is taking longer to treat the skins, and they are deteriorating in quality as a result. The association is experiencing financial difficulties. Is it really reasonable to act in this way—not to allow the people of Kazan to utilize their production resources, preferring to see raw material rot rather than permit the enterprise to dispose of its above-plan output at its own discretion?

A number of plants and factories in the Tatar ASSR have shown an interest in setting up joint enterprises with Yugoslav enterprises, particularly for the manufacture of refrigerators and perfumes. But even here there are difficulties. We are being forced to spend weeks if not months on problems which could be solved by a single telephone call. This primarily applies to the process of coordinating prices with foreign trade organizations.

Bitter experience in coordinating these prices with associations such as "Soyuzkhimeksport," "Soyuzgazeksport," "Raznoeksport," "Eksportlen," and others has shown that it is virtually impossible to get through to them for an effective answer to a problem. Menacing doormen are everywhere and you cannot get into a single establishment without a special pass. All queries have to be dealt with by post and letters take weeks traveling between organizations in Moscow. Meanwhile, the firm is losing patience and switches to more efficient partners who, in addition, can often offer a contract on better terms....

The foreign trade reform has given industrial enterprises the right to trade abroad independently. Many associations, factories, and plants are already exercising this right. We should not be afraid to give everyone this opportunity. After all, whoever is unable to compete will not offer his products to the world market.

Austrian Daily Interviews Latvian Communists

AU0108142088 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 30 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Gorbunov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, and Atis Kraminsh, turning lathe operator in the VEF Production Association, by Franz Stephan Parteder in Styria: "Glasnost Is Called Atklatums Here"; date not given]

[Text] The Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF, lets hardly a day pass without dealing with the "nationality problem in the USSR" —in its own way. The situation in the Baltic republics is always worth a report. We asked the members of a CPSU delegation from Latvia, who are staying in Styria at the invitation of the KPOe [Communist Party of Austria], about the situation in their home country. In a talk with Anatoliy Gorbunov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of Latvia, and Atis Kraminsh, turning lathe operator in the VEF Production Association (both were delegates to the 19th CPSU Conference at the end of June), we learned more than just the Latvian translation of the term glasnost—atklatums.

Parteder: What do 48 years of Soviet power mean for Latvia?

Gorbunov: The most important thing is that socialism has gained ground in our country. In Lativia there are no forces any more that are openly against socialism. It works not only as a social-political system but it also lives in the people's hearts.

At present there is much discussion in our country about whether there was a revolutionary situation in Latvia in 1940, there are also discussions about external factors such as the political situation at that time and the presence of the Soviet Army in the country. Stalin's role is being discussed. But one thing is certain: At that time many working people were dissatisfied with the conditions in bourgeois Latvia and welcomed the arrival of the Soviet Army.

Kraminsh: In our country the second generation has already grown up who are accustomed to socialist conditions, for whom free education and free health care are a matter of course, and who do not know what fear for one's job is.

Gorbunov: In our country now we do not often talk about development targets and achievements. Production in Latvia has increased 50-fold compared with 1940. These figures, however, tell little about production efficiency. Latvia's population amounts to only 0.9 percent of the USSR's total population, but we produce 1.2 percent of the national income.

Parteder: What does the process of restructuring mean for the party?

Gorbunov: In Latvia, too, openness and democratization are the foundation stones of restructuring. In my view, these processes have developed more quickly in the Baltic republics than in other parts of the Soviet Union (except the large cities of Moscow and Leningrad). During the latest elections to the local soviets, for instance, there were 80 constituencies with several candidates in the USSR; 73 of these constituencies were in Latvia.

The party itself is in a difficult stage of transition at present. We have to shift from the command system to political management methods. The party cannot free itself of its responsibility for the development of the economy, culture, and society, but it must learn to work differently. At present we still have some sort of mixture between the old, administrative and the new, democratic methods.

Kraminsh: The party itself has proposed and started this process of restructuring.

Gorbunov: Our main task in this connection is to bring forth the activities of the masses by activating openness. This development sometimes gives rise to extremist moods. But this is an exception. The general image of perestroyka in Latvia is positive.

At present there are about 1,500 independent groups or "interest groups" that deal with the most varied problems in Latvia. Five of these have a completely political character, such as the Nature Preservation Club, but they all stress their support for Gorbachev's course.

This is also emphasized at the meetings and rallies. Over the past 2 months we have had five mass rallies in Riga on the topics "Ecology," "Commemoration of the victims of repression," and "National symbolism," in which up to 25,000 people participated. The nature preservation group invited me, as secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, to participate in the rally for the victims of repression, which took place on 14 June. I made a speech there.

Parteder: What does national symbolism mean?

Gorbunov: At these rallies the national Latvian colors, red-white-red, are carried.

Kraminsh: But our flag is not like the Austrian flag. The red is darker and the ratio between red and white is 2:1:2.

Gorbunov: This flag was established in the 13th century and was actively exploited in the state symbolism of the bourgeois republic. After World War II it was not used. Now many people are in favor of using this flag again. There are similar efforts in Estonia, Lithuania, and in other republics.

Parteder: Are there active separatist forces in Latvia who demand secession from the USSR, for instance?

Gorbunov: In our republic there is no group that has a program based on secession from the Soviet Union. The goals of the independent groups are to increase the republic's independence and to strengthen its sovereignty. This program practically corresponds to the goals of the party. We, too, are against the dictate of the central economic organs and want to change economic relations with the center in such a way that the norm targets not longer hinder economic development but promote the quantity and quality of production. Our motto and slogan is: We must strengthen the Soviet Union in particular by strengthening our republic.

Estonian People's Front Supports Restructuring
LD0208215288 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1500 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] New affiliations of the People's Front, a public movement in support of restructuring, has been set up in Estonia. At the moment its membership totals 60,000. Formed in that Baltic republic last spring, the People's Front involves different sections of the population—students and retired workers, religious people, and persons not belonging to any political party. Its goal is to promote the fundamental reform launched in the USSR and to enhance the role played by the local government bodies.

1940 Events in Lithuania Recalled
LD0108143088 Moscow Tass in English 0426 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Vilnius August 1—correspondent Elta Zigmas Aleksadravicus writes:

That history must not contain "blank spots" is not open to question. But to what extent is this statement applicable to historical facts connected with Lithuania's entry into the USSR on August 3, 1940? Answering this question, which has of late become a favourite theme for Western propaganda and even for the U.S. Administration, Vitautas Astrauskas, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of Lithuania, said in a conversation with me that "the entry into the USSR was absolutely voluntary". He reminded in this connection that the "historic turn was carried out and approved in those days by an absolute majority of the Lithuanian people. And if one is to speak about the 'blank spots' of history, they ought to be sought not in Lithuania but in the White House where even now there appears to prevail a very hazy notion of what actually occurred in those historic days of 1940."

The situation in Lithuania on the eve of the events of the summer of 1940, the Lithuanian leader continued, "was coming to a head and grew into a revolutionary situation in a natural way." In the popular masses, he said, there was a growing discontent with the home and foreign policy of the bourgeois regime which had come to power after the fascist coup-d'etat of 1926. It was then that the Sejm (Parliament) was dissolved not to be convened for about ten years, and leaders of the workers' movement were tortured to death.

"In the summer of 1940", Astrauskas went on to say, "President Antanas Smetona left Lithuania, and the activity of the ruling party was paralised. In the resulting situation, representatives of the progressive forces, acting in accordance with the then constitution, formed a new government enjoying the confidence and respect of the people. The government was headed by Justas Paleckis, an independent publicist known for his sharp and bold criticism of the authoritarian government and repeatedly persecuted by it."

The new cabinet of ministers included Vincas Krevemickavicus, a classic of Lithuanian literature, and General Vincas Vitkauskas, commander-in-chief of the bourgeois army, who took the side of the people. Ernestas Galvanauskas, a member of the old cabinet, also joined the new government.

An absolute majority of the population turned out for the elections into the people's Sejm, which followed. That majority approved the platform of the alliance of the working people of Lithuania, set up in those days. And on July 21 the newly-elected Sejm adopted a declaration on the restoration of the Soviet power in Lithuania and on its entry into the USSR. At its extraordinary session, the USSR Supreme Soviet decided to accept Lithuania as a member of the Soviet Union. Latvia and Estonia joined the USSR at the same time.

"The years of socialism in Lithuania," Astrauscas said, "abounded in radical changes in the economic and spiritual life, in the [passage indistinct].

Ligachev on Importance of Historical Monuments
LD0308221088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Ligachev, who is in the town of Gorkiy, has had a meeting with activists of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural monuments.

Gorkiy organically combines the country's history, a remembrance of the past and the present day. It seems that there is the link-up itself of the ages in this powerful reach of the Volga and the Oka.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev acquainted himself with the sights of the Nizhegorodskiy Kremlin, where a large amount of restoration work has been carried out. Here he visited the Memorial Square, which tells of the contribution of Gorkiy's inhabitants to victory in the Great Patriotic war. This has also become history.

A meeting took place at the Arts Museum. Yegor Kuzmich listened with interest to the views of the activists of the society—architects, writers, artists and restorers.

[Begin Ligachev recording] The country is now living through a special period—a period of socialist renewal and further development. As you are indeed aware, in these conditions, the conditions of democratization and glasnost, there has been a very strong increase in our people's interest in history and the homeland, the fatherland, and this is a fine thing, comrades. It is a good thing that the movement for the preservation, use and, as people rightly stress here, propagandizing of historical and cultural monuments has assumed a really mass character. This movement, which began a long time ago, has brought together many hundreds and thousands of people, including a large number of young people. This as a whole pleases us very much.

We are very pleased that all this activity, including in Gorkiy Oblast, is for all its weaknesses and shortcomings actively helping the upbringing of our people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. People here have rightly been emphasizing that one of the key functions of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments is propaganda and their use for the upbringing of people. How people, so to speak, sit upon monuments sometimes in our country! They protect them in the narrow utilitarian meaning of the word, but they do not engage in using them to the full for the inculcation of patriotism and internationalism in our young people and respect on their part and the part of the whole people for the multinational culture of the peoples of our country.

Monuments are our pride, but also our pain, concern, and worry.

When this issue is considered at the secretariat, and it has been studied quite a lot in a preliminary way, not only in the RSFSR but in other republics too, we have run up against different attitudes toward this issue. Let me tell you straight that we have been pleased that many party, local, soviet, state, and public bodies have already been very energetically and genuinely getting down to the issues connected with the preservation, restoration, and propagandizing of the entire historical and cultural legacy. We have many examples of this. Recently I was in the Vologda area. I recommend you pay a visit there. There are astonishing monuments of northern Russia. I would even say to you that they are creations of world stature. I noticed there, for all the complications and difficulties, especially in Vologda and Velikiy Ustyug, a great concern to preserve everything that has been received from previous generations. Indeed we have now given them very serious assistance and have created large-scale scientific units and two large historical and cultural museum reserves, and we shall continue to help them.

These are masterpieces of world art, after all. This land still lies aside from the roads of civilization. The time will come when millions will be going there, and even now, incidentally, people fly there by plane from Moscow in order to see those creations of human hands and reason.

But at the same time, we have come across instances when party and local soviet bodies and our societies for the protection of historical monuments conduct their work in a very narrow, restricted way, without extensive aktivs, without wide-scale involvement of the trade union, komsomol organizations, creative unions, scientific organizations and with an absence of cooperation with many public groups. We think that this is not the way it should be.

We believe altogether that in that society, just as in all public organizations in general which are, as a rule, associations of people who have ideas in common, independent, democratic principles should prevail. Here, as never before, people themselves should manage their affairs, their organization, closely coordinating their work with state organizations. And the latter should assist them in every possible way. I am not against having officials in charge on the payrolls of state organizations too, but these should be sufficiently qualified, able people in reality and not just in theory, which is very important.

We also have party bodies which—I shall say bluntly—unfortunately, many of them, do not support the undertakings, the initiatives which are taken by the Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments. Unfortunately, there is a great deal of—I shall say bluntly—indifference, and that will not do, of course. But it is a fact, we do come across a lack of understanding of the importance of this cause. For some comrades, problems of the moment push it to the background, blind them, and they do not tackle the issues which are of significance even today; and tomorrow will be doubly as important. For what is a society without historical memory, comrades? It is a tree without roots. Try stripping our society of its memory and in general of all works of material culture created by our people. One would feel uncomfortable in that society, to say the least.

Gromyko's Speech at 28 July Award Ceremony

PM0308110488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Award Presentation"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko presented the motherland's lofty awards to a group of state and party workers honored for their services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state in the Kremlin on 28 July.

Orders of Lenin were received by D.N. Gagarov, first secretary of Maritime CPSU Kraykom, and M.V. Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport; and Orders of the Labor Red Banner by N.V. Gorshkov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science, and A.F. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Addressing the recipients, A.A. Gromyko said:

Esteemed Comrades!

The career of every one of you is so full, every one of you has done so much for the sake of restructuring, that I could make a special speech about each of you individually. And it would all be justified.

But I will not do that. It is better to speak about all of you at once, because one thing unites you: You are in leadership work in the party and state, you work in full view of the people.

I think before this audience it is best to share some thoughts about the awards themselves. We present them for glorious deeds, for successes that can be clearly felt in the sphere where a person works. And in concrete terms, the motherland thanks you for that and expresses its thanks with the orders that have just been presented.

At the same time awards are a pledge for the future. It often happens that awards are given in connection with some kind of anniversary. That is right. There are dates in people's lives that deserve to be marked. But this must be combined with an assessment of their work.

The fatherland and the people are confident that that is how you will receive your awards, and that you will join with new energy in the work of historic importance that must be done every day, every hour, with a full sense of the lofty responsibility invested in you by the state and party.

The recent 19th all-union party conference gave us all new strength and oriented us toward the fulfillment of our next tasks. The forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum will develop the ideas of the party conference. You know this well.

Soviet Communists and all our people now have to carry out an important, large-scale reorganization of the political structure of Soviet society. It is an urgent task to create a political mechanism and guarantees that will exclude the possibility of the violation of Leninist principles of party leadership in future.

It would be good if, in the light of the party decisions, you too were to march in the vanguard of the revolutionary transformations taking place in the country and always remain principled and enterprising leaders—that is how the party assesses your work today—in whom the people around you can find an example to imitate.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government I warmly congratulate you on the fatherland's high awards. It gives me great satisfaction to convey to you congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

I wish you great successes in your work. May this day be not only a festive day for you, not only a day when you sum up certain results, but also a date that makes you think once again about what must be done, and how, to implement our great and honorable cause of restructuring.

Those are the thoughts I deemed it necessary to voice at this solemn moment of presenting awards. Once again I congratulate you. Best wishes to you and to your nearest and dearest.

The award ceremony was attended by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Secretary Nikonov Visits Sverdlovsk Enterprise

LD0308202788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Comrade Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is in Sverdlovsk. On 3 August he visited one of the oldest enterprises in the Urals the Verkhisetskiy metallurgical works. In the steel cold rolling shop, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov familiarized himself with the organization of production and showed an interest in production technology and the product's competitiveness. Topical questions on economic reform, the enterprise's social development, and the improvement of foodstuffs supplies for the working people were raised in conversations with workers and specialists. The CPSU Central Committee secretary inspected a fish produce shop—the main department of the works' subsidiary plot. On average 20 kg of fish per worker is produced here annually. The importance was noted of using the reserves of industrial enterprises for increasing in all ways possible their own foodstuffs resources.

Vorotnikov Tours Kuybyshev Oblast 30 Jul

PM0308120288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Visit to Kuybyshev Oblast"]

[Text] V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, was in Kuybyshev 30 July. He took part in the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom plenum.

V.I. Vorotnikov visited the construction site of the Kuybyshev branch of the Central V.I. Lenin Museum and inspected the new philharmonic society building. At the V.I. Lenin metallurgical plant the member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo inspected the rolling and pressing shops and familiarized himself with the Kuybyshev metallurgists' work in modernizing production.

During his tour of the oblast's Krasnoyarskiy Rayon V.I. Vorotnikov visited the "Ugolok Lenina" kolkhoz. In recent years this farm has regularly received above-plan profit and is doing much construction work. A talk took place here with the workers of livestock units on the problems of increasing meat production, including the use of kolkhoz members' personal subsidiary plots. V.I.

Vorotnikov inquired in detail about the work of contract livestock collectives and the social and consumer conditions of life in the countryside. He inspected the central farmstead and talked with local inhabitants.

V.I. Vorotnikov was accompanied on his trip by V.G. Afonin, first secretary of Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom, and V.A. Pogodin, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Razumovskiy, Lukyanov Address Propaganda Groups

LD0308225388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A seminar of the propaganda groups departing to local party organizations to clarify the documents and materials of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 1988 July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee took place at the CPSU Central Committee today. Comrades Razumovskiy and Lukyanov addressed the seminar.

More on Baklanov's Visit to Science Association

PM0308143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Raising Equipment Standards"]

[Text] O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the P.S. Pleshakov Science-and-Production Association 2 August, where he familiarized himself with the condition of developments and the production of modern electronic equipment. Measures to ensure unconditional fulfillment of the set targets and to improve the technical standard and reliability of the devices being produced were discussed.

In conversations with the association's leaders, scientists, and production workers the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked about how the collective is working under the conditions of the transition to complete economic accountability [khozraschet], and what is being done to organize fulfillment of the decisions of the last CPSU Central Committee plenum—particularly in building up production of competitive consumer goods. The importance of ensuring the accelerated resolution of social and leisure questions and of providing the association's workers with everything they need was stressed. Attention was drawn to the need to improve everyone's contribution to the transformations taking place in the country.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of the radio industry, and other party and economic leaders.

IZVESTIYA Report on Prosecutor's Office Meeting

PM0408083388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium in which prosecutors of republics, krays, and oblasts and military and transport prosecutors took part was held 2 August.

A report entitled "The 19th All-Union Party Conference and Problems of Restructuring Supervision by the Prosecutor's Office" was delivered by USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev.

Tasks concerned with restoring Leninist principles in the activity of the prosecutor's office in conditions of the formation of a socialist legal state were discussed.

Supervision by the prosecutor's office, the collegium stressed, must strictly ensure accurate and uniform interpretation of the laws throughout the country, persistently combat violations of socialist legality, no matter who is responsible, establish the supremacy of the law, and firmly pursue the line of reinforcing the legal levers of restructuring.

Protecting the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and other legislative acts from erosion by any kind of departmental instruction or order and reliably defending labor collectives' interests are very important tasks for the prosecutor's office.

Questions concerned with enhancing the effectiveness of supervision to ensure that citizens' rights and freedoms are safeguarded and with strengthening the safeguards for Soviet people's social protection occupied a central place in the discussion.

At the same time it was noted that socialist democracy has nothing in common with disorderliness, slackness, or breaches of public order or state and labor discipline. The force of the law and measures of public influence must be fully utilized in the struggle against such phenomena.

The collegium paid great attention to questions of preventing crime and protecting people from criminal attack and to the just application of criminal penalties.

The humanization of punishment presupposes at the same time the application of strict measures against hardened criminals, persistent offenders, and those guilty of abusing official posts.

Supervision to ensure the most rigorous observance of legality in criminal proceedings must be stepped up and any manifestations of prosecution bias must be completely eradicated. Stress was laid on the importance of developing glasnost and democratic principles in the activity of prosecutor's office organs themselves and of reliance on labor collectives and public organizations in preventing violations of the law. The collegium paid special attention to the need for cadre training and commitment and principle in defense of citizens' rights and statewide interests.

A specific action program for the prosecutor's office designed to strengthen the rule of law in the country, based on the guidelines of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) party conference, was outlined.

The following took part in the collegium's work: A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I.S. Gustov, first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; A.V. Vlasov, USSR internal affairs minister; S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; N.P. Malshakov, USSR chief state arbiter; S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; F.D. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee; V.T. Gubarev, USSR deputy justice minister; senior officials of the CPSU central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers; and represenmtatives of the mass media.

Editorial Previews Report, Election Campaign

PM0308162588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Reports and Elections Are a Crucial Examination Which the Communists Will Take"]

[Text] The report and election campaign which is beginning in the party in accordance with the CPSU statutes and the party conference decisions.

The reports and elections are a traditional campaign. But this time, as the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum said, this campaign will nonetheless be unlike its predecessors. First, today neither the party nor society are what they were yesterday. Second, the time has come to embark energetically, without any additional instructions, on the practical implementation of the party conference's innovatory ideas, and this lends fundamental importance and a special nature to the report and election campaign.

The Central Committee plenum resolution "on the reports and elections in the party organizations" states: They must become an important stage in the practical implementation of the instructions elaborated by the conference to deepen restructuring, to implement the reform of the political system, and to further democratize the life of society and the party.

The times and the tasks demand that the party masses be activated everywhere, that the role and responsibility of party organizations and committees of various levels be raised, and that political methods of leadership be asserted in their activity. The reports and elections are called on to promote this in every way. And it is extremely necessary to transfer to them the atmosphere of the 19th party conference, the frankness and keenness of the debates, the implacability toward shortcomings, and the creative quest for guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring.

As always the reports and elections began with the party groups and shop organizations. Report and election meetings in the primary party organizations will be held in September-October, rayon, city, and okrug meetings will be held in October-November, and oblast and kray meetings in November-December. Naturally they must be painstakingly prepared for. It would be wrong to hope that today Communists no longer need to be "dragged to the rostrum." We must ensure a truly high ideological-political and organizational standard in holding meetings and conferences.

Communists must analyze in depth how specific sectors and regions are implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and what the state of organizational and ideological educational work is here. It is important here to approach in a self-critical and principled manner the assessment of the style and methods of the activity of party organizations and elected organs and Communists' contribution to the common cause. Is each Communist fulfilling his duty in full? Are all Communists really enterprising and implacable toward relapses of irresponsibility, parasitism, and bureaucracy? The result of the discussion of these and other questions should be the elaboration of an optimum program for practical actions.

The party's constant presence in the life of society is embodied, as is well known, by its primary organizations. It is locally, in the labor collectives of which they are an organic part, that there are accomplished all the practical deeds for a resolute shift to which the CPSU Central Committee Plenum expressed itself. In the reports and elections process special attention must be paid to the further consolidation and enhancement of the primary organizations' role. We must thoroughly think about how to improve Communists' activity in the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, and other public formations.

A very important party concern is the improvement of the selection, promotion, and education of cadres. Communists will be acting correctly where they exactingly reveal the reasons for the still frequent manifestations of the formal nomenklatura-based approach toward cadres and persistently advise party committees to engage more in training and retraining and also in educating workers with a consideration for their possible recommendation to leading posts. Every party organization's attention should be focused on problems of the ideological and internationalist tempering of Soviet people, particularly young people.

The Communists' readiness to deepen restructuring will be confirmed all the more weightily the more deeply the course of economic reform and the assimilation of the new principles of economic management is examined. The question of questions is the speediest improvement of the state of affairs regarding food. Surely Communists cannot pass over in silence the whole complex of other important tasks? No, of course not! After all here too matters touch on people's moral-political state and their trust in restructuring. In particular it is a case of building up the production of high-quality consumer goods and housing and sociocultural construction and of eliminating bottlenecks in the services and health care sphere.

The report and election campaign, the CPSU Central Committee resolution says, is called on to promote to the maximum the further democratization of all internal party life and the creation in the party organizations of an atmosphere of creative debates, freedom of opinion, and detailed criticism and self-criticism. It has been decided, guided by the instructions of the all-union conference, to ensure the broad discussion of candidacies and a secret ballot during the election of committee members and secretaries and the full opportunity for including on the ballot slip more candidates than there are mandates. It is also fundamentally important that the party organizations can henceforth nominate their candidacies to a higher ranking organ. Now that is their right. How they will use it will become clear in the next few months. But one thing is already undoubted: Trust presupposes responsibility. Responsibility for those whom the Communists recommend "for higher up."

The task has been set of holding the elections to the leading party organs in such a way that these organs are joined by really efficient, enterprising, authoritative people capable of advancing restructuring not verbally but in deeds, of working skillfully among the masses, and achieving real practical results. The reports and elections are a good aid in supplementing, on the basis of democratic principles, the staff of the party cadres with fresh forces, and in reinforcing various echelons with politically mature, morally irreproachable, and competent workers.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum considered it necessary to put into operation the provision of the 19th All-Union Conference on limiting the time spent in the same leading party post to two consecutive terms of office beginning with the present report and election campaign. This, of course, does not mean that those who have already held such a post for a long time will invariably be obliged to retire. Communists' statutory right is to decide for themselves who to elect.

Concern should be displayed for broad glasnost for the holding of reports and elections. Central and local press, television, and radio workers are called on cover regularly, objectively, and skillfully the course of the meetings and conferences and their atmosphere. Here they must not restrict themselves to dry protocol and hasty patter. Let people, let the public, receive detailed information about the decisions which have been taken, about the composition of the elected party organs, and about how Communists' critical remarks are being acted on.

The reports and elections in the party organizations are a unique continuation of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The Communists' duty is to preserve and develop its spirit, openness and realism, critical orientation, and efficiency and to unite as firmly as possible the ideas of restructuring with the practical deeds of each party organization.

Moscow Obkom Secretary Mesyats on Restructuring

PM0108153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Special correspondent A. Shinkin interview with V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom, under the rubric "From the Standpoint of the 19th Party Conference": "Leading Rather Than Giving Commands" —date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The party conference was hardly over before people began telephoning the editorial office and asking: What are party committees planning to do about the problems discussed? Will the resolutions passed not simply prove to be more "paper boats"? Are Communists and, even more important, leaders prepared to resolve the tasks set? These and other questions asked by our readers basically determined the subject of our conversation with V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom and delegate to the party conference.

[Shinkin] The saying goes that the wind rocks the sea and rumor rocks the people. But at the moment the words "party conference" are on everyone's lips. And everyone has his own opinion. What would you single out from the party conference resolutions as most important to you, a first secretary?

[Mesyats] I think it would have to be the demand made by the conference that, in content and methods of activity, our party must be a Leninist party in every respect. We must renounce high-handed, dictatorial methods once and for all, conduct our policies through organizational, cadre, and ideological work, and strictly observe Soviet laws and the democratic principles of social life.

[Shinkin] In other words, lead rather than give commands.

[Mesyats] Right. We must learn to lead. Unfortunately, during the long years of the personality cult and the period of stagnation, instead of doing this we mastered the art of giving orders. From the party Central Committee down to the primary party organization we advocated one requirement only: Uncomplaining fulfillment of instructions "from above" to the letter. Instead of collegiality, one-man management prevailed, instead of election to office we had an appointments system; instead of glasnost, strict secrecy; instead of collective discussion and debate, glib truths ready to hand; instead of elected members of a committee, the established unit of the apparatus; instead of direct participation by the broad masses in state administration, their formal assimilation of abstract ideological and political concepts....

Oh dear, there are a lot of these "instead ofs." Basically, any deviation from what was "approved" would be regarded by a higher authority as a malicious breach of party discipline. And all this, I must point out, was called "leadership." Now, in the conditions of democracy and glasnost, we have to revive the real Leninist concept of party leadership. After all, even Dal defines the verb "to lead" as meaning "to govern, advise, and edify." There is nothing there about giving orders.

[Shinkin] While interpreting the past, we are seeking paths to the future and assessing the present. From this standpoint, Valentin Karpovich, what lessons have been learned from the obkom's activity in the first 3 years of the restructuring period?

[Mesyats] There is one feature I can boldly single out: We are moving to an increasing extent away from interference in economic functions. This is now apparent to everyone. But until quite recently it was standard practice in the work of the obkom bureau and secretariat to interfere in production management on any grounds whatsoever. We handed out instructions left, right, and center, as they say—sometimes without considering the real situation and without any sound economic reasons for doing so. We were only interested in His Majesty the Plan. It had reached the point where we were even telling farmers when to plow their land, sow their crops, harrow, and harvest....

All this was indeed true. There is no getting around the fact. Gorkoms and raykoms blindly copied our work. We took satisfaction in noting the strength of our "party influence." But we failed to see how this was an impediment to people, undermined their confidence in their work, and gave rise to social apathy.

The winds of change have had a refreshing effect on us. For the first time in many years we have begun to think about whether or not we are really leaders. And what do people think of our work? We have carried out some sociological research among the oblast party aktiv. A mere 15 percent of the respondents said that obkom workers have given them real assistance. And the rest? They were simply the recipients of our instructions. Even greater blows have been dealt the system of goading people on by the adoption of the Law on State Enterprise followed by the transition of most labor collectives to working under the economic accountability system. This was when we began to master real political methods of leadership.

The number of resolutions has been reduced and obkom plenums have begun to discuss questions of organizational and political work and cadre and social policy. The obkom bureau is now concentrating its attention on the work style of party organizations and leaders' responsibility for the job with which they are entrusted. A coordination council has been established under the obkom to coordinate the activity of control bodies. The number of checks and visits by various commissions to party organizations was immediately halved. We have regulated the report system and the practice of requesting all manner of information from organizations and we now summon leaders to various conferences and sessions far less frequently.

[Shinkin] But, Valentin Karpovich, is the situation not like the one in the well known anecdote, where the tops of the trees in the taiga are waving in the wind but down below all is quiet? Quite recently I visited a number of collectives near Moscow and heard people saying things along the lines of: What do we signify? Whatever those up top decide, will be. People do not believe in their own strengths or that they are in charge. Is this not where party work among the masses begins?

[Mesyats] Yes, this is where it begins. And if we are going to define the most important aspect of the obkom's work under the new conditions, it is the effort to create an atmosphere conducive to enterprising work by Communists and primary party organizations. By making all the decisions for them, we created a climate of parasitism and lack of faith in their own strengths. Now we are trying to splinter this shell of indifference. On average, members of the obkom apparatus spend roughly 2 weeks per month in labor collectives. Last year, for example, they took part in preparations for more than 1,100 party meetings. The practice of sending out teams of obkom workers to make in-depth studies of the situation at grass roots level and give real help in organizational matters has recommended itself well.

[Shinkin] And what role in this work do you give to labor collective councils?

[Mesyats] It would be ideal if they all took from the party committees and bureaus those powers which are given them under the Law on the State Enterprise. If we are able to engage a force like self-management, it will also be easier for us to organize our work in the new way. At the moment, however, via the Communists in the councils we instill confidence in their members that they are the masters of production with full rights and that the labor collective council can call any leader to account.

[Shinkin] The best barometer to assess the new work style is the state of internal party democracy and the activeness displayed by Communists and every member of the collective. To what point on the scale has the needle risen?

[Mesyats] I will point out what is just a trend at present: Increasingly often the tone is set by whoever works, thinks, and struggles. An offensive has been launched against all manner of abuses and increasingly often social justice comes out on top. The ritual of party meetings, plenums, and our own conferences and aktiv meetings is also changing: There are no more long, empty reports and people speak without preparatory notes and, as a rule, without any paper in front of them at all. They do not criticise objective factors but those personally who are not up to the mark in their work and who are to blame for errors being made. Here are some figures to give you an example. During pre-party conference report sessions by party committees and bureaus on the subject of leadership of the restructuring process, in 58 primary and shop-level party organizations in the oblast Communists rated the performance of elected bodies as unsatisfactory. Some 1,200 members of party committees and bureaus, including 264 secretaries, were not reelected. I cannot remember such a thing happening before, even during a report and election campaign.

The obkom bureau is sticking firmly to the policy of developing everyone's initiative. No sensible suggestion is allowed to go to waste—primarily for this purpose. All critical observations are taken account of. The most important are considered at bureau sessions. Another characteristic feature is that we are now discussing twice as many issues as before as a means of monitoring progress in the implementation of earlier decisions.

[Shinkin] As far as I am aware, Moscow Oblast is famous for its strong cadres. Is this so?

[Mesyats] Yes, that is right. I could give you the names of dozens of leaders I know personally. But there is something I must admit: For too long our selection procedure has been oriented toward people who can create the semblance of being "solid" workers: They have not been judged on their performance but on the number of decisions made and measures implemented, and on the basis of all those upbeat reports. For decades these nomenklatura workers have moved in leading circles. Fortunately, however, bad specialists are no longer retained: They are rejected by their own labor collectives. Take G. Kolesnikov, for example, former director of the "Selkhozavtomatika" Engineering Center. A peremptory man by nature, used to ignoring the opinion of the collective. And you know what? At the beginning of the year the collective gave him a vote of no confidence and he had to say gooodbye to his cozy leadership post.

In many party organizations the process of forming the reserve is now a public affair which takes account of the opinions of Communists and labor collectives. The Naro-Fominskiy Raykom, for example, analyzed the state of the cadre reserve. It turned out that people certainly do not assess the practical qualities of the reserve as stipulated in the documents. So a list of candidates for the positions was published in the rayon newspaper. The composition of the reserve was then revised on the basis of the results of the rayon "referendum."

We are becoming increasingly bold in our assimilation of the practice whereby leaders are elected by secret ballot. More than 1,000 economic, party, and Komsomol workers have been elected recently. Under these conditions you no longer give orders even if you would dearly like to. There is a real contest of intellect, practical qualities, and ability to work with people.

[Shinkin] Addressing the party conference, Valentin Karpovich, you noted that in Moscow Oblast new forms of socialist economic management are being broadly introduced. Are they contributing to the appearance of new forms of party work?

[Mesyats] It is a complex problem. Collaboration between party bodies and cooperative workers is a delicate business. It is only just beginning to take shape. We do not have much experience in this at the moment. Perhaps the only firm link in the chain is the Communist in the cooperative. We are devoting special attention to the selection of cooperative leaders. It is all going to take time. With regard to changes in the industrial sector, you could say that here the relevant forms of party influence have been more or less defined. For example, working on the basis of present conditions, the Ramenskoye Gorkom has formed a council of party organization secretaries from enterprises and organizations incorporated in the "Ramenskoye" Agro-Industrial Committee. The gorkom secretary is head of the council. This body helps to coordinate the activity of the various party organizations.

Incidentally, collaboration between party bodies and new forms of socialist economic management is a task not only for the practicians but also for the theoreticians of party building. For some reason, however, they are in no hurry to come to our assistance. Despite the fact that we now need mutual efforts.

[Shinkin] And is the same true of work with the soviets?

[Mesyats] On the contrary, before we join forces here we must be decisive about demarcating functions. We have to revive soviet authority and strengthen deputies' independence and self-reliance. We are already doing something in this direction. Last year we almost halved the number of joint resolutions. We are trying to do away with them altogether in the not too distant future. But, on the other hand, we are doing our utmost to enhance the monitoring of work done by the soviet apparatus and increase the personal responsibility of Communists working in this apparatus.

[Shinkin] At the party conference, Valentin Karpovich, you spoke in favor of combining the posts of soviet chairman and first secretary of the corresponding party committee. Would this not contradict what you have just said?

[Mesyats] Certainly not. As I see it, this would enhance soviets' control functions and strengthen their authority by giving it the weight and power of party influence. Then, it seems to me, we would have a real democratic mechanism. The first secretaries of party committees will become dependent on the broad masses of working people. Their position will depend not only on the opinion of the elected aktiv but also on their authority among the people. Really talented, competent, honest people of principle will thereby be promoted to the position of party leader.

[Shinkin] Glasnost. Does it help you to lead or to give orders?

[Mesyats] To lead—no doubt about that! Broad glasnost and objective, constructive criticism not only smash obsolete approaches but also create new ones. For example, everyone has now heard of "Mosoblselstroy Trust No. 18." People are coming from all over the country to study its experience, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee. What has helped it to make effective use of the principles of economic accountability and self-management? Its own newspaper, ZA KOLLEKTIVNYY TRUD, which came into being on the initiative of the obkom. For the collective, for whom the thorny path to the contract system lay in persuasion by action and was accompanied by furious argument, the newspaper has invariably served as a mobilizing factor and contributed to restructuring people's way of thinking and cultivating a constant need in them for creative work.

Incidentally, despite the information boom in the central press, the authority of the local press in the oblast is also growing. The newspapers' circulation is increasing. It has grown by 30,000 copies since the beginning of the year. The secret is simple. Party committees are no longer overseeing the editors. The latter are not required to agree critical material with them, but very principled demands are made on objectivity and accuracy. The obkom propaganda section and press section constantly monitor the effectiveness of newspaper items.

[Shinkin] Valentin Karpovich, allow me to ask: What style do you personally maintain in your own work?

[Mesyats] A very pertinent question. There is no point in being hypocritical—for many years we have all worked under the conditions of a heavy-handed administrative style. As I have already said, we were taught to do this and it was required of us. This means that restructuring does not come easily. Sometimes we have to take painful measures. But I realise that there is no other way, that times have changed and different things are required of us. And experience confirms that the new approaches in style of leadership are the most effective. We will make sure they are established in practice.

Zaykov Sees 'Positive Changes' by Restructuring

LD3107213788 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] A member of the Communist Party's Political Bureau, the head of the Moscow organization of the party, Lev Zaykov, has said the people are fully behind the party's course for perestroyka. He told an interviewer such was his conclusion from meetings with workers at a number of Moscow factories and plants and research centers. He spoke of positive changes in the capital and the country as a whole. For example, Moscow's industries managed to make good the negative tendencies that appeared in the years of stagnation in efficiency growth rates. Among the city's keenest social problems Lev Zaykov listed housing. The city has the aim of giving every family a separate, comfortable apartment by the end of the century. The task, he said, is feasible with the plans aiming at increasing by one-third the city's housing fund.

Reform of Soviets' Activity Examined

PM2907151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[V. Lyubitskiy article under the rubric "From Positions of the 19th Party Conference": "The Soviet: Yesterday and Tomorrow"]

[Excerpts] Let us agree at once that compliments addressed to the recent all-union party conference are unnecessary in our discussion. I will point to just one incontestable fact: At work and at home, at rest and on the move, people everywhere are now discussing the course and results of the conference. And the discussions center on the question of power. The very question which, according to Lenin, is the chief question in any revolution. With regard to restructuring, this means the party's proposed reform of the political system and, within this, as defined by a conference resolution, "the ensuring of the soviets' sovereignty." [Passage omitted]

The decision to recommend for the posts of chairmen of soviets, as a rule, the first secretaries of the corresponding party committees provoked (and continues to provoke) perhaps more debate than anything else. Not without reason, people have their doubts: the consequences of concentrating party and state power within the same pairs of hands have remained too clear in people's memories and proved difficult to surmount. How reliable will the new guarantees prove to be?

But it must be said that there are many guarantees if one looks at them within the entire gamut of scheduled transformations. First, the chairman of a soviet must repeatedly go through the election procedure: not only as a deputy—from among the other candidates included on the same list—but also as the first secretary—he is elected by secret ballot by the members of the party committee—and then again as chairman of the soviet to whom this post is awarded by the deputies, again by secret ballot. Second, it is planned to abolish the sectorial departments in the party committees. Their duplication of the functions of the soviet is thereby ruled out, and likewise any kind of issuance of edicts by the party committees is ruled out. This is especially so, as the soviets will also have an advantage from the financial point of view: by acquiring a solid influx of money from the enterprises, regardless of their subordination, the soviets will at last acquire not simply some kind of insubstantial "sense of being the master" but a real opportunity to be the master,

If account is taken of the fact that sovereignty requires that not a single state, economic, or social issue be tackled without the involvment of the soviets (a good curb against the formerly indomitable unceremonious behavior of ministers and ministries) it becomes clear that it is difficult to find a real alternative in the question of the [soviet] chairman. Under any other option there is always the danger that the edict style in relations will be reproduced, that the role of the soviets will be diminished, and..., alas, we would go the same way that we went before.

It is, of course, reasonable to ask: Might one expect that under the new conditions a deputy will overcome his timidity and "dare to have his own opinion?" Definite incentives are envisioned on this score: competitive elections, the extension of the term of all soviets to 5 years, the opportunity for a deputy to be released from his work periodically so as to discharge his powers, and the elimination of the apparatus' precedence over the deputy. But all the same, all the same...

Let us turn back, once again to history. Not even a month had elapsed following the proclamation of Soviet Power, than V.I. Lenin demanded imperatively that measures be taken "to implement the right of recall, that is, the real subordination of elected representatives to the people electing them." In the report to a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, he said: "Each peasant, when sending a representative to the Soviet, can also recall them and herein lies the true popular meaning of the soviets."

The official right of recall exists today too. But what is the actual state of affairs. The recall procedure is set in motion, as a rule, only when higher authorities have the will to do so—either the deputy has compromised himself to a criminal degree, or—and this also happens—has proved to be excessively obstinate. But somehow one never hears of examples of recall on grounds of idleness, indifference to the voters' instructions and needs, or attending sessions (for years!) without taking any proper part in them. The mechanism for implementing the voters' will on these lines has not even been devised. This is why it seems essential that the right of recall, which is also provided for in the decisions of the party conference, should be supplemented by a precise, legalized procedure for its implmentation. Let people be able at any moment to deprive the driveler or unprincipled yesman of his deputy's title—and on the other hand let the industrious deputy be protected from abitrariness "from above" or from demagoguery "from below."

One more point. If we look around we can easily detect around us examples of our own tendency to let others do all the work. After all, our deputies are first and foremost organizers. Why should they not, for instance, enlist the voters too to work on the standing commissions? This would not only introduce a broader range of people into mangerial activity, but would also help to pinpoint possible future deputies...

Some good lines were written into the conference resolution—"...each soviet within the framework of the law has a full opportunity to select the forms and methods of its activity, taking local conditions into account." So it is necessary to put this opportunity into effect. Let confidence that "this, our Soviet Power, is very correct" be revived in everyone. Because it, this confidence, is the only thing that can guarantee the genuine, irreversible sovereignty of the soviets.

Justice Minister Interviewed on Legal Reform

PM0308142188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

["Interview with USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov" by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Way of Life and Letter of the Law"—date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The concept of building a law-based state in the USSR, developed at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, has attracted the whole people's keen attention and unflagging interest. A TASS correspondent asked USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov to comment on its basic provisions.

Question: One important task of restructuring, as the 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution "On Legal Reform" emphasizes, is to enhance the role of the courts within the system of socialist democracy. What tasks have to be resolved here?

Answer: The CPSU Central Committee plenum held 29 July determined specific steps for the practical implementation of the party conference resolutions, including the resolution on questions of judicial reform. The conference decided to restore Lenin's vision of the court's role in our society.

The conference deemed it necessary to significantly consolidate the guarantees for the implementation of democratic principles of the administration of justice such as the adversarial principle, glasnost, strict adherence to the presumption of innocence, and impermissibility of either bias toward the prosecution or indulgence toward those who have infringed the law.

In order to accomplish this task, it is proposed to substantially amend the procedural legislation and to considerably expand the rights of those taking part in trials: specifically, to make provisions for the prosecutors' right to appeal sentences and decisions by the USSR Supreme Court or by union republic supreme courts and the right to appeal decisions in cases involving administrative offenses.

The conference resolution points out the need to enhance the court's prestige, to ensure absolute independence of judges and their subordination to the law alone, and to define specific penalties for interference in judicial activity and for contempt of court.

For this purpose, it is proposed that people's judges should be elected for a longer term than at present, say for 10 years, and that this should be done at sessions of superior soviets of people's deputies. In our opinion, this will create additional guarantees of judges' independence from outside pressure. Candidate judges will certainly have to meet higher demands from the viewpoint of their professional training and their general human qualities alike.

The paramount tasks must also include the organizational and technical support of courts, the building of special premises, the material support of court personnel, and the training and further training of cadres.

The courts' role can be enhanced only if all the aforementioned questions are resolved.

Question: The resolution also speaks of the need to substantially enhance the role of justice organs and to consolidate the juridical services of soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments, and economic organizations. How do you perceive the ways to solve this task?

Answer: It is not only citizens who need to have their legitimate rights and interests protected. The conditions of economic reform create numerous legal problems for industrial and agricultural enterprises and cooperatives. It is here, of course, that juridical services will have a greater role to play. After all, the primary purpose of these services is to help in consolidating contract and labor discipline, improving the quality of goods and services, and protecting the legitimate interests of enterprises, organizations, and citizens. The intelligent organization of legal work and precise collaboration among all services—this is the basis of the successes of restructuring innovators like N. Travkin, V. Starodubtsev, S. Fedorov, and others. It is not anarchy but order based on legal foundations and coupled with bold economic initiative that enables them to achieve high efficiency and results.

The USSR Ministry of Justice is studying advanced experience in the organization of legal work and is striving to disseminate it widely. Unfortunately, some ministries and departments are taking rather a long time to implement it.

The practical work of enterprises in the new conditions shows that at times it is the improper application of the law that retards the development of economic accountability and results in adverse financial consequences for enterprises and losses running into millions. After all, the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) has given enterprises major powers to elaborate their own, so-called local normative acts on internal economic accountability in production, on the organization and remuneration of labor, and on the introduction of contractual forms.

We recently studied the state of legal work at Alma-Ata's 20-Letiya Oktyabrya Machine Tool Building Plant within the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry system. It employs several thousand people, but only two of its teams have switched to economic accountability. The plant is losing millions through its failure to meet contract commitments. Ministry representatives have visited the plant on many occasions, including during the current year, but have failed to provide any effective assistance. Of course, the inordinately high volume of state orders has also played a certain role here. But the internal potential ought to be utilized much more fully.

Situations like this, when local normative acts are not elaborated, are fairly widespread. Enterprises and associations within the systems of the Gosstroys, Ministries of Light Industry, and Ministries of Communications in a number of union republics have been inspected, and the majority were found not to have elaborated their own provisions for economic accountability, while some had not even reviewed local normative documents.

What does this indicate? We are faced with the same chronic disease: We are waiting for something, relying on "big brother." True, some leaders experience difficulties in the organization of legal work and juridical services. It is our duty to help them in this work.

The USSR Ministry of Justice has practically taken on the role of coordinating center for providing methodological assistance and disseminating advanced experience in this work. The task is to ensure that work on the consolidation and, wherever necessary, the creation of juridical services is actively done everywhere by the appropriate ministries and departments and local soviets.

Question: In your view, what practical measures must be taken to enhance the role of the legal profession as a self-managing association for the provision of legal assistance to citizens, state enterprises, and cooperatives and for representing their interests in court and before other organs?

Answer: The restrictions curbing the growth of the size of lawyers' collegiums have been lifted. Proposals have been drafted to change the procedure governing payment for legal assistance.

Work is being done on draft amendments to the Law on the Legal Profession in the USSR, as well as draft directives on the legal profession in union republics. Our view of the innovations to be included in these acts? Let me cite some of them.

It is proposed, within the framework of the implementation of judicial reform, to expand the rights of lawyers as regards protecting citizens' legitimate rights, making provisions for their participation in preliminary investigations from an earlier stage and giving lawyers in civil proceedings the right to participate in preparing the case for trial.

Question: It is well known that the 19th All-Union Party Conference raised the question of providing cadres for the legal reform as an immediate task. What measures is the Ministry of Justice taking in this regard?

Answer: Yes, the professional training of those who will implement the reform and will work in the courts and the organs and institutions of justice is assuming paramount importance. Unfortunately, there are quite a few gaps here today. Work is now being done to elaborate and improve a system for the selection, education, training, and further training of juridical cadres. Specifically, it is envisaged to expand the base of the All-Union Institute for Improving the Training of Justice Officials. There is a pressing need to reorganize the republican institutes' courses for further training.

I have already spoken about the new demands made on candidates for the office of people's judges and lawyers. I would like to add that there are proposals to elect to higher courts jurists who have had at least 5 years of experience in their specialized sphere, including at least 3 years as judges.

Other specific measures will be taken to consolidate the membership of all categories of juridical cadres and enhance their professional competence.

Question: It is well known that the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum set the task of organizing universal juridical education as a unified comprehensive statewide program covering all strata of the population and all cadres, both central and local. The need to take effective measures for the restructuring of the population's legal education and the organization of universal juridical education was also emphasized by the 19th all-union conference. What specific work has been done to implement this task?

Answer: We have already taken certain steps in this direction. The interested ministries, state committees, departments, public organizations, scientific institutions, and educational establishments have been involved in drafting proposals for the fundamental improvement of legal education and the organization of universal juridical education, and a statewide comprehensive program for the population's universal juridical education is under preparation.

Some positive experience in improving the legal training of economic leaders, party and state apparatus officials, people's deputies, and the public has already been accumulated in Sverdlovsk Oblast, the Mari ASSR, and other republics and oblasts in the country.

The organization of universal juridical education is dictated by practical requirements and the need to ensure the law's supremacy in all spheres of society's life. The observance of legality must become a way of life rather than just a one-shot campaign. It is obvious that people must know and understand the laws if they are to observe them. Soviet citizens need access to information about current legislation and explanations of the norms of labor, housing, civil, and criminal law and other acts having the force of laws.

Life has already taught us on many occasions that ignorance of, and even more so contempt for, the law has cost our society and citizens all too dearly. A law-based state will remain nothing but a dream without universal juridical education, without the broad masses of working people being thoroughly familiar with the fundamentals of the law.

MVD Official Details New Demonstrations Decree

PM0408095188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's adoption of a decree on procedures for organizing and holding gatherings, meetings, street processions, and demonstrations in the Soviet Union, V.P. Ignatov, chief of the USSR MVD Organization and Inspection [Organizatsionno-Inspektorskoye] Administration, said that these events, which are sometimes attended by tens of thousands of people, require a certain amount of organization to be held. This is aimed primarily at protecting the safety of the participants themselves and at preserving public order and the interests of other citizens. At the same time, he pointed out that the constitutional right to hold meetings and demonstrations is sometimes used by antisocial, nationalist, and extremist elements for provocative and frequently criminal purposes, as was the case in Sumgait. The document which has been adopted is designed to exclude such phenomena from our life. Ignatov noted that this legislative act accords with the spirit and principles of the international pact on civil and political rights and other UN documents. [passage omitted].

'Danger' of 'Capitalist Deformation' of Co-ops

PM0108144388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Tatyana Subbotina, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "Polemical Notes": "Who Stands To Gain From Loophole in Law"]

[Text] Moscow—Frankly speaking, I had my doubts whether it was worthwhile writing this article now, when the Law on the Cooperative System has already been passed by the Supreme Soviet. Some people even tried to convince me that this discussion could not take place until at least a year has passed and the first results have taken shape. But should one swallow doubts just because the discussion deadline has passed? Anyway, we ought not to think and express ourselves strictly to order along the lines of: A nationwide discussion has been declared, so we give it some thought; a law has been adopted, so we sigh with relief and relax. Democracy cannot operate in stages.

What worries me worries many other people too. Notably, do all the avenues of the development of the cooperative system which have been authorized by law really contribute to the improvement of socialism?

I have very definite views as to what constitutes the most comprehensive criterion of the nature of socialism. I believe that socialism in any country must, from the very beginning, be characterized by the fact that it enables the working people to feel themselves to be masters of their country and owners of all its wealth. Any economic reform which operates in the opposite direction is bound to make us diverge from socialism. Even if its most immediate result is production growth or improved output quality.

Let us examine some of the provisions of the Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR from precisely this angle.

The opponents of this law take the gloomy view that the development of the cooperative system will give rise to private ownership and capitalist tendencies which are alien to socialism. This view stems not only from our former economic policy which aimed at the earliest possible nationalization of cooperative property. It is based also on current cooperative practices—high prices, the often poor quality of goods, and the unjustified disparity between the level of the income of cooperative members and state enterprise workers. Quite a lot has already been written to support the argument that these flaws are a consequence of the transitional period and by no means an inevitable characteristic of the cooperative system as such. And nonetheless... are there any real grounds for fearing a capitalist deformation of our cooperative system?

In N. Ryzhkov's report to the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session such a danger is directly acknowledged. Local soviets are advised "not to tolerate any distortions of the nature of the cooperative form of management" and "to completely rule out any possibility of the infiltration of the cooperative movement with unscrupulous people in pursuit of private entrepreneurial activity, exploitation of other people's labor, and private gain." Well, no one will object to this. However, how are the local soviets to judge the presence or absence of exploitation in a cooperative?

It is also perfectly obvious that "unscrupulous people" have always existed, and alas, will exist for a long time to come, not only in the cooperative sector but in the state sector too. Such people must, of course, be called to account. However, this has to be done in accordance with the law. And for this it is necessary for the law to clearly define the forms of economic activity which are at variance with the nature of a socialist cooperative. But this is precisely what is lacking in the law.

Under what circumstances is it possible to speak of exploitation of labor within a cooperative? When does the danger of its capitalist deformation arise? I will take the risk of expressing my viewpoint.

I have arrived at it largely under the influence of the book "The Social Bases of the Cooperative System" by the Russian economist M. Tugan-Baranovskiy which will become available for the general public in the very near future. According to the view of this scientist, first, the cooperatives which exist under capitalism are divided into three categories based on class—proletarian, peasant, and petit bourgeois cooperatives. Of these only the latter tend to develop into capitalist partnerships [tovarishchestvo]. Second, the socialist cooperatives will differ substantially from those which operate in a capitalist environment. Primarily by the absence in them of hired labor. This means that all the workers in the cooperative will, at the same time, be its members enjoying equal rights.

However, something entirely different is stated in the Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR. It contains a provision, an erroneous provision in my view, relating to the right of the cooperative to make use of the labor of people who are not its members on the basis of a labor contract. Essentially this provides a legal basis for the exploitation of hired labor, and the only condition that has to be met is group ownership (by no fewer than three people) of the means of production. Let us give this some thought. The cooperative's labor collective is divided into two economically unequal groups—the cooperative members and hired labor. The former fully control the enterprise and appropriate the results of its activity. The latter only have a consultative voice in its management and are paid the wages specified in the labor contract, irrespective of the cooperative's income. The objective economic interests of these two groups are known to be antagonistic—the lower the wages of the hired workers, the greater is the cooperative's profit which is shared out only among its members.

The fact that those who own the means of production personally take part in production or management does not alter this fact in the least. The right bestowed on local soviets to regulate the correlation between hired workers and cooperative members does little to improve the situation since the presence or absence of exploitation is not determined by the ratio between the two groups.

It can be assumed that the formation of antagonistic social groups is the last thing that the development of the socialist cooperative system needs. It would also be disadvantageous from a purely economic viewpoint since it would be at variance with the very aim—the creation of objective conditions to mold a proprietory attitude in every worker—for the sake of which the revival of the cooperative system was conceived.

It is obvious that the provisions on hired labor were conceived with a view to involving as many additional labor resources as possible in the production process. However, what is preventing those who want to work in a cooperative from becoming its members? Sometimes it is social inertia and fear of material responsibility. This is precisely what we must combat rather than encourage. There is also another obstacle—the reluctance of the cooperative to accept new members when it is cheaper to hire people under contract. This is inevitable if the cooperative members are guided by expediency rather than "noble" aims.

People may say: Contract labor in kolkhozes does exist in practice. Why has no one thought of describing kokhoz members as exploiters? It is because within the framework of the administrative-command system the kolkhozes did not really own the means of production. They hardly differed from state enterprises and depended entirely on superior economic and party organs. This is why there was no antagonism between the kolkhoz members and people working under contract. Nor could relations based on exploitation have arisen between them. However, in accordance with the law, the cooperatives operate in entirely different conditions. Hence the relations within them are also different.

The provisions of the law which make cooperative membership and a share in the cooperative's income possible on the basis of mainly material rather than labor participation can hardly be described as in line with the criteria which determine its socialist nature. The distribution of a substantial part of a cooperative's income on the basis of share ownership is the hallmark of a petit bourgeois type of cooperative. The members of such cooperatives, just like the petite bourgeoisie in general, draw income of a comparable size from two sources—their labor and their property. If the second source begins to predominate, it is possible to claim that the transformation has taken place—what we have is no longer a labor cooperative but a capitalist partnership. And even the fact that all the cooperative's members continue to work in it does not essentially alter this matter. Their income derives mainly from ownership rather than labor. This means that even in the absence of hired labor there is exploitation of some members of the cooperative by the others.

In my opinion no distribution that is based on a material contribution (share ownership and the payment dividends) can be regarded as truly socialist because it directly undermines the principle of distribution according to labor. This is particularly obvious when the shares are distributed unequally, when some people have more shares than others and some have none at all. But even if a cooperative achieved complete equality in the distribution of shares between all its workers, the problem would not be eliminated, because in that case good and bad workers would be paid equally which means that the latter would be exploiting the former. Thus the danger would persist of the cooperative's deformation into a capitalist enterprise. As payments based on ownership increase, there comes a point when they become more important than payments based on labor. As a result, rather than increasing the members' labor income, the main aim of the activity of such a "cooperative" will be the pursuit of the economic interests of the shareholders.

I am not writing all this in order to demand that the sale of cooperative shares to individuals be banned. It is, indeed, a convenient method of mobilizing material resources and in itself does not introduce into our economy anything that is fudamentally new. After all, we put our money in the savings bank and receive a fixed rate of interest in return. It is true that if our savings amount to a considerable sum, the interest may become comparable with the wages of a worker in the low-income bracket. However, under no circumstances is this income likely to become the saver's main income or an income comparable with his labor income, provided, of course, that the savings were earned by honest labor.

Furthermore the sale of cooperative shares is a method which has been proved, among other things, by the more than hundred-year old history of peasant and proletarian cooperatives. Essentially, it consists of paying a return on the used material resources on the basis of stable, minimum, but at the same time economically attractive rates, with a view to ensuring that the major part of the cooperative's income is distributed in accordance with people's labor contribution. This kind of distribution alone is in keeping with the interests of the cooperative's working members, and it is precisely this method which prevents a cooperative from turning into a capitalist enterprise irrespective of the profitability of its economic activity.

As for the return on the share capital made up of contributions by the cooperative members themselves, it should be limited to a specific rate or period to ensure that from a certain point onward the distribution of income within a cooperative takes place strictly according to labor. For this purpose it is necessary to specify in the law a sufficiently high but stable "ceiling" above which payments for material contributions cannot rise. While a "ceiling" in labor remuneration is at variance with the principles of socialist justice, a limit on returns from material contributions is dictated by these principles. It is the worker who must be able "to feel that he is the master," not the former owner of the cooperative's means of production and financial resources. Even if these two roles are combined in one and the same person.

I realize where the main vulnerability of my stance lies: On the one hand, I am an ardent advocate of the cooperative system, and on the other hand, I favor the introduction of additional restrictions as regards its development.

It is quite true that in conditions where cooperatives account for only 0.3 percent of the goods and services sold in the country, the main question is whether or not the cooperative system will manage to take up a worthy place in the Soviet economy. These conditions give rise to the entirely legitimate desire to remove all obstacles from the path of the development of the cooperative system. However, it seems to me that the true interests of the development of the cooperative system in our country demand, among other things, guarantees which would prevent it from being discredited in the eyes of the public. They also demand that a solid legal basis be created under the mutual relations between cooperatives and the organs of soviet power, to rule out possible arbitrariness. And for this it is necessary above all to have a clear idea as to which features of the cooperatives could enter into conflict with the principles of socialism and those which serve its development.

Work Within Cooperatives Defended Against Critics

PM2907144988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[A. Protsenko "Topic of the Day" article: "Envious Sloth"]

[Text] Last weekend [za minuvshiye vykhodnyye] Moscow's Ryzhskiy market witnessed no less than a hundred crimes covered by Article 131 of the RSFSR Criminal Code: "Abuse, that is deliberate denigration of an individual's honor and dignity..."

The people being abused were cooperative members. Most frequently behind their back, but sometimes to their face. Action was not taken against anyone: The victims did not turn to the authorities. In general, as local militia workers said, the people have started to calm down: Nobody is coming up and demanding that they immediately "shift these capitalists, who are fleecing the people!"

For almost a month now we have had in operation a law which states in black and white that "work in a cooperative is honorable, prestigious, and fully encouraged by the state." Today cooperative members feed thousands of people—providing tasty food, as a rule—and provide a considerable number of services which are difficult to obtain; they are not rude to the customer and produce commodities for which there is a big demand. We have seen the emergence of cooperatives which develop new equipment and introduce new technology, build housing and roads, and lease construction industry enterprises, sharply increasing their productivity.

But public opinion is still not on their side.

"They earn tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles!" P. Konovalov of Novosibirsk protests. "Why is that kind of money allowed in our socialist society?"

If only things were confined to writing to the newspapers... In Rostov Oblast a cooperative was formed in the wordworking shop of one of the construction components plants—a cooperative comprising workers in the same shop who began producing hard-to-obtain "joinery" on a second shift. But only half the collective—the most highly skilled and industrious half, incidentally—wanted to work overtime. When they heard about the cooperative members' first wage packets their colleagues demanded that the management immediately close down this "private business in a state enterprise." On the outskirts of Syktyvkar a family cooperative put up a couple of cowsheds not far from some overgrown personal plots and began fattening bullocks there—and in came the complaints: This "private farm" was allegedly in the way.

The only principle being upheld here is: Don't anybody dare live better than I do. If I find a cooperative restaurant expensive (are state restaurants any cheaper?), then close it. If my wages are low, cut cooperative members' incomes.

In the country today around 13 percent of enterprises run at a loss because they have inflated management staffs, low labor productivity, and appalling work quality. But many of them have gotten used to this kind of existence. For them competition with cooperative members threatens to deprive them of their carefree existence and their small but essentially unearned income. Nobody today is preventing those who advocate "deducting" and "sharing" from "adding" and "augmenting"—just change the procedures at your enterprise, join a cooperative, and organize your "own business." But...

Admittedly the prices of cooperative goods and services are high at present. But what will benefit us most in the end? Waiting in line to scramble for imported goods which are hard to obtain and not cheap anyway, and for which we pay, moreover, with our natural wealth—oil, gas, and timber? Or allowing the rise of our own cooperative members capable of making a product of no less quality than foreign ones?

But not even all officials regard cooperatives as a normal and progressive phenomenon.

The consequences of this kind of "policy" are already having an impact. The Economic Research Institute under the USSR Gosplan estimates that to ensure the normal development of our society by the year 2005 cooperative members will have to provide at least 25-30 percent of the total volume of goods and services. But in the last quarter the cooperative sector did not increase but decreased production from R380 million to R320 million.

Krasnoyarsk's Shenin Writes on Local Press
PM2907101788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 p 1

[Article by Oleg Shenin, first secretary of Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom: "How Our Words Are Greeted"]

[Text] During a meeting at the editorial bureau of a young people's newspaper I was asked, among other serious questions, which publications I prefer. One of the first I named was KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. This was by no means to appeal to my interlocutors' self-esteem, nor because—as could be reasonably claimed—I read the local newspapers as part of my job. I actually like the young people's newspaper. Two people in our family read KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS—my ninth-grade daughter and I, who am by no means young any more.

Quite honestly, I did not welcome all the innovations and experiments that the newspaper is keen on, or all the articles, and even now I do not always agree with everything. That too is probably natural. What at first glance may seem an unacceptable view may also be correct; pluralism of opinions is also a sign of expanding democracy.

Long before the decree on stepping up the struggle against drunkenness the editorial bureau defined its own position—which proved to be correct—and featured articles by prominent scientists and propagandists about the healthy way of life. Certain leading economic workers initially objected to the newspaper's line and were even irritated by it. But ultimately the newspaper people proved to have the truth on their side.

This situation was exactly repeated when KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS came to the defense of the kray's first youth housing complex, created at the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex by team leader Igor Spevakin. Just 4 years ago it was just an experiment that generated stormy arguments nationwide. Now that youth housing complexes are part of state policy, one wonders whether it was worth making such a fuss to prove something so obvious. It was. Someone has to protect trailblazers, someone should today be introducing and analyzing innovations so that tomorrow their correctness or mistakenness can be obvious. Here too there should not be any taboo areas. There is nothing wrong with a youth newspaper daring to point out a party committee's shortcomings.

An article once appeared in KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS criticizing the style of party leadership in Sayanskiy Rayon. The article was balanced and fair. But old stereotypes were strong. The newspaper received no official reply. The youth newspaper raised the matter again. It was supported by the party kraykom. What objection could there be, one would think. But not everyone thought that way. The secretary of the Sayanskiy CPSU Raykom skillfully "pinned" all the blame on a kolkhoz chairman: That, he claimed, is the person who is opposed to restructuring. Party kraykom secretaries had to intervene in order to sort everything out. You will agree that it is hardly normal for a raykom, say, to simply ignore criticism and brush off a youth newspaper; and the kraykom propaganda, agitation, and organizational party work departments, who were monitoring the question, somehow forgot about this.

I will not claim that relations between the youth newspaper and party kraykom departments have always been ideal. The lads were instructed what to write about, how much, and when, and what would better be hushed up—these instructions were transformed into outwardly harmless recommendations from senior comrades: Is it worth covering this topic, will there be enough people to investigate?... This outwardly decorous concern concealed the same fearful glance over the shoulder to make sure that nothing came out. That was wrong. Professionalism deserves not only respect but genuine confidence.

Judging by previous experience, this occasionally still happens in the press, and often youth newspapers' relations with Komsomol committees—whose organs they are—are not simple.

The situation in this kray is that the newspaper and the Komsomol kraykom are like-minded. Of course, different people with different views and positions work in both areas. Don't they quarrel? And how! But they are united by a common cause and common respect for each other.

Here is an example. The Komsomol Kraykom Bureau adopted a decision to award the status of kray shock Komsomol construction site to the Sredne-Yeniseyskaya GES. The newspaper, which has long and consistently covered nature conservation issues, opposed the idea. Cogently and clearly the journalists proved that the proposed giant power station would seriously damage the ecological situation and therefore cannot and should not—even from a moral standpoint—be turned into a symbol of Komsomol valor and enthusiasm. As a result the Kraykom Bureau adopted a new decision: to strip the construction project of its shock Komsomol status.

...At the 19th all-union party conference, to which I was a delegate, I listened attentively to the speeches and could not help being surprised by the reaction in the auditorium: There were so few good words said about our Soviet press—the press that in the first years of restructuring bore the difficult burden of awakening social self-awareness and morally purifying society. But I also thought about something else. People are used to believing the press. So what damage can be done to that belief by unobjective information! Yet there are examples of just that—instances of demagoguery and of people's honor and dignity being offended. Nobody has abolished criticism. But I advocate criticism for the sake of work, and constructive contributions from journalists.

Newspapers also make mistakes. But even they can be useful. An article was once being prepared on an invalid, a hero of Afghanistan, who had found himself in the kray center and had encountered callousness from officials. It suddenly came to light that he was not a hero at all but an ordinary adventurer who had skillfully fooled not only the journalists but hospital workers and the militia. People expected a refutation from the newspaper. The new article discussed everything honestly, it marked the start of the paper's policy of concern for former internationalist servicemen.

I am convinced that we should not consider the local press to be provincial, timid, or toothless. Particularly not today. If people at local level continue to rely on correspondents coming from the capital, the local press—instead of giving the population timely and honest information about matters and problems, and instead of accurately and soberly analyzing phenomena—will cover events with one eye on central publications, and such coverage will be of little use.

On returning to Krasnoyarsk, my first meeting was naturally with the party kraykom apparatus, but my second meeting was with the kray's journalists. Answering questions, I thought about the difficult questions we have to resolve together under the highly complex conditions of the present day, trusting each other.

Newspaper, Magazine Subscriptions Available 1 Aug

LD0108080788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Subscriptions for newspapers and magazines are open from today [1 August]. What awaits us next year? Approximately 42 periodicals will be in limited editions, that is, individual and official subscriptions will be within the limits of the allocated print runs. As in previous years, subscriptions are limited for the magazines RABOTNITSA, KRESTYANKA, ZA RULEM, and INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA. They are joined by virtually all the heavier central magazines and a number of lighter ones: OGONEK, ZDOROVYE, and others. The catalogue of Soviet newspapers and magazines will have 30 new editions added in 1989.

As a literary supplement to OGONEK and DRUZHBA NARODOV, coming out next year, there will be anthologies of works by Leskov, Steinbeck, and Yan, and single-volume collections by Zamyatin and Shmelev. Dumbadze's book "Cucaracha," the books "Envy," by Olesha; "The Foundation Pit," by Platonov; "A Golden Cloud Stayed the Night," by Pristavkin; and Rybakov's book "1935 and Other Years" will be published.

'Resolute Actions' on Food Problem Needed

PM0208115188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Food Question Is a Fundamental Sociopolitical Question"]

[Text] That was precisely how, following the 19th party conference, the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, which has just completed its work, formulated the urgency of resolving the food problem.

Why the task of drastically improving food supplies for the population is a fundamental one can be understood without explanation. But the sociopolitical nature which its solution has acquired today is in need of in-depth analysis. The kind of analysis which was made at the party plenum.

Let's turn to the official statistics. The average annual per capita production of, for instance, meat in carcass weight was 57 kg in the 10th 5-Year Plan, 60 kg in the 11th 5-Year Plan, 64 kg in 1986, and 67 kg in 1987; the corresponding figures for milk were 353 kg, 347 kg, 365 kg, and 367 kg, the figures for grain were 786, 661, 750, and 747 kg, and for potatoes 316, 287, 311, and 286 kg. In other words the population's food supplies improved only slowly and for individual types of food even declined.

At the same time capital investments in agriculture steadily increased, comprising an enormous sum. In the past 17 years alone the sector's power-worker ratio and capital-labor ratio doubled and even trebled. So what is the matter?

The most important reason, one common to all, the plenum noted, is that measures to consolidate agriculture's material base have not been accompanied by the corresponding work aimed at ALTERING ECONOMIC RELATIONS in the countryside. To this day many leaders link the buildup of production everywhere with ever new investments, with additional deliveries of resources, and seem not to see that there are no results.

There is little point if, for instance, you reclaim land and develop the production base where there are no roads, no housing, and the countryside is uninhabited. Uniformity of approach is a direct route to failure. For instance, how many attempts have been made in recent years to use additional investments and various benefits to help lagging kolkhozes and sovkhozes, yet the number of loss-making and low-profit farms is not decreasing—there are now 20,000 of them, or 42 percent.

That means a different way is needed. And the CPSU Central Committee plenum defined it most precisely: Economic relations in the countryside should be built in such a way that the peasant does indeed become the master of the land.

We must proceed toward this aim through all the multiplicity of forms of implementing socialist ownership. There is full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-recoupment, the contract and the lease, the development of various forms of the cooperative movement, the creation of agrocombines and agrofirms, and all kinds of encouragement for the private auxiliary farm.

Leasing has a special place among this multiplicity of approaches to economic management. Here it is a case not simply of the leasing of the land of lagging farms by strong kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and industrial enterprises. It is a case of socialist stock farming, of creating working peasant families, providing them with a long-term, 25-30 year, lease on land and other means of production. There is nothing unsocialist in this, on the contrary, this is real socialism, which makes it possible to put an end to man's alienation from the means of production, from politics, and from cultural achievements.

The sociopolitical importance of these decisions is hard to overestimate. Their effectiveness is obvious: The first leasing collectives, created informally, show a labor productivity 2-3 times and sometimes even 10 times higher than the existing level. It is true that a great deal still has to be done for the broadest development of lease relations. That includes equivalent exchange and the possibility of the free acquisition of equipment and other resources and the establishment of specific benefits for lessees. Legal guarantees are also needed, which it is planned to enshrine in special laws on leasing and land use. All this will be provided.

But that is not the only thing now. The dissemination of the contract, particularly the lease, quite often runs up against incomprehension and formalism and is held up by the conservatism of leaders and specialists.

New forms of organizing production contradict the existing management structure on all "floors" from the kolkhoz and sovkhoz right up to the Gosagroprom and Gosplan. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum frankly stated that if the present system of management of the agro-industrial complex has produced no particular effect and is becoming obsolete then we should not cling to it. Instead of the rayon agro-industrial associations the kolkhozes and sovkhozes must create servicing cooperatives, determine for themselves their economic relationships with them, and hire the management apparatus.

This process has already begun but so far it is proceeding sluggishly, is not being extended vertically, and often is turned into nothing but another change of label.

As the autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is strengthened and as leasing and cooperative relations develop, unsuitable and superfluous management links will be torn away. We must be ready for this at all levels of economic activity. And above all in the implementation of investment policy. We must resolutely abandon the former equalizing distribution of capital investments. Preference will be given to the development of the social infrastructure of the countryside, the financing of development through bank credits, and the allocation of budget appropriations on a competitive basis.

In stressing all this the CPSU Central Committee Plenum expressed itself in favor of the priority development of the processing sectors and the food transportation and storage base. That is the quickest way to improve food supplies. Here far less expense and time will be required than for the buildup of production volumes.

The solution of the food problem is already a matter for today. The harvest and feed procurement are proceeding everywhere. Very difficult conditions are taking shape. When the harvest has been grown we cannot allow spoilage or losses in it. Not only rural workers but also city dwellers should understand this. We will harvest everything we have grown and store it and make rational use of it—that means we will not only not reduce the level of food supplies but will improve it. Yet because of stoppages and lack of resourcefulness, because of the poor work of procurement bases and the trade network, losses of fruit and vegetable produce are still great. A number of oblasts in the RSFSR and other republics are lagging in the procurement of feed and are being slow in harvesting grain and other crops. Through the fault of machine building enterprises and petroleum refinery workers there is a shortfall in the supply of equipment, spare parts, and fuel to the countryside. Everyone must step up their work.

We have every opportunity for reaching the level of per capita consumption of basic foods envisaged by the Food Program and by rational norms by the end of the present 5-year plan. It is true that we will not succeed in achieving this for meat and fruit, but even here the situation can be improved if we make the maximum effort.

The plenum approved the proposals elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee for improving food supplies for the country and the basic guidelines for the further development and improvement of economic relations in the agro-industrial complex. The ways of achieving this goal have been defined. To scale the projected heights we now require intelligent, persistent work by every party committee and by soviet and economic organs both centrally and locally. They must perform this work daily and purposefully and seek specific results.

The time has come for resolute actions.

Secrecy of Geographical Maps Criticized

LD0408081888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1935 GMT 29 Jul 88

[From the "View" program, presented by Sergey Vashurin and Sergey Lomakin]

[Text] [Vashurin] I do not know whether our viewers know, but there is actually a black market in geographical maps; things are so difficult in this area. Do you know how much maps are on the black market?

[Lomakin] I know, but our viewers dont know yet!

[Vashurin] R150-200, and these maps, moreover, are of very low quality because they are traced and rephotographed dozens of times. Many of the details are lost. People who use these maps break their necks, they get dislocated joints and bruises, or simply perish.

[Lomakin] It is not for nothing that we picked this topic today because we all have some unique corner of our country, our homeland, which is close and dear to us, and which we remember for a long time. However, if we took it upon ourselves to compare that spot with its representation on a map, I think we would be extremely surprised because the copy would be at extreme variance with the originals. Recently, and unfortunately to my shame, I stumbled for the first time onto the magazine ENERGIYA. Here it is, [Lomakin holds up the magazine] It is published by the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences. Look. It is quite an interesting magazine, with a lot of interesting material.

[Vashurin] I am not surprised you had not heard of it before. It comes out in a print-run of just 30,000.

[Lomakin] Well, yes, of course, there you are. Among the material inside it, there is an interesting article by (Yuriy Golubchik), candidate of geographical sciences, called "Is It Not Time To Show Our Maps?" ["ne Pora Li Otkryt Karty?—a play on words, in which "karty" means both "maps" and "cards", thus, "Is It Not Time To Show Our Hand?"] Here now, in our program, is an interview with the author of the article.

[Begin recording] [(Golubchik)] Blank spots in history are currently being revealed. Many names, dates, and events are being restored, but the country's gift, its spaces, are of no less interest. Our spaces, our land, seem to be closed to their inhabitants. You know, frontier zones are unjustifiably widened. Topographical maps are kept secret. Pictures of our forests, fields, and rivers are kept secret. In the meantime, Article 67 of the USSR Constitution directly calls on us to conserve the environment. Environmental conservation is our constitutional right and civic duty. In order to conserve, you need a map of the natural environment. Conservation involves not a birch tree outside the window, but whole landscapes, tracts of countryside, and cities. Given worldwide remote-control monitoring of the environment, the secrecy of topographical information, the secrecy of our spaces, are devoid of all common sense. As it is, citizens in our country are hamstrung by unjustified bans on entering areas where gentlemen go hunting [mesta barskoy okhoty], on taking photographs at factories, stations, and bridges. Take our frontier zone. It takes in the whole of the north and the Far East; the size of it exceeds the area of all the countries of Western Europe put together; it exceeded it a long time ago. Just reducing the numbers of these people employed in maintaining secrets would have an enormous economic yield for the country. Nearly always the possible undesirable effect of leaked information is scant compared with what we lose from the lack of this information. Did the people who hid vineyards and cottonfields in order to boost harvest indices want the glasnost of information from space? The area of vineyards and cottonfields in the south was 50- percent underdeclared.

Harvests were gathered in from a much larger area. Now there are a lot of people who do not want a picture of the deterioration of our environment. An analysis of repeated photographs from space can indicate the speed and intensity at which the environment is deteriorating and how many areas have already been turned into barren wastelands and lifeless man-made deserts scattered with stones and covered with marsh and mud. It is not wanted, of course. Hydroelectric project builders do not want to be shown that the perimeter of their reservoirs keeps growing all the time, that the area that they designate for flooding is much smaller than the area flooded in practice, with large areas going under.

[Lomakin] There evidently are some kind of forces that deliberately cover up information about the threat of the ecological situation in the country.

[Golubchik] Yes, undoubtedly. They try—you know, I can only interpret it as a slander against their own people—they try to explain increased mortality in a number of industrial areas or areas where chemical pesticides are used, where chemical warfare literally is being waged against their own people. They try to explain it away as drunkenness or venereal disease, whereas in actual fact it is caused by pollution. Just you reveal the pollution maps of various departments and I am sure none of them will want to appear worse than all the others. An enormous apparatus thrives on this, for it needs a whole lot of people to conceal information and restrict it, people who often can do nothing but forbid.

[Lomakin] Could you name the organizations or departments that are responsible for making maps and information, including topographical, ecological, and geographical information, secret

[Golubchik] This information is kept secret primarily by the Chief Directorate of Geodesy and Cartography attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. This organization was set up on 14 September 1938 as part of the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal affairs, forerunner of KGB] It was subordinated to the NKVD, and it was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Geology. Now it is attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. I do not think that, in itself, it is the source of all evil, for very many structures have an interest in secrecy. Planning institutes, to a large extent, often do not want discussion of their projects. I refer to institutes such as the State Design Institute for Water Resources, which planned to transfer the northern rivers. Surely it would not have wanted glasnost of information. Representatives of the State Committee for Hydrometeorolgy and Environmental Control kept repeating monotonously year in and year out, that Moscow was the cleanest city: its reservoirs, rivers and air were clean. This was a lie. This phrase is a lie because of the fact that there is no such thing as a clean city, let alone a city with a population and industry equivalent to an average European state. I recently saw a very interesting document; someone showed it to me, it was in KOMMUNIST magazine. The signature of Izrael, chairman of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, was appended to instructions to open up information of an ecological nature. This is something to be welcomed, one would think. At the same time, there was a letter attached to this document, stamped: For Office Use. It said that access to primary factual data should be denied to journalists and outside persons because revealing ecological information to the would mean giving rise to unhealthy economic and social processes.

[Lomakin] What can we do, people who love nature, who love their land, who want to travel, who want to enjoy their native land, their country?

[Golubchik] Dostoevsky once said that you cannot love mankind without loving a specific person. In exactly the same way, it seems to me, you cannot love your country, and the nature in that country, without loving a specific spot. Each one of us has places like that which are close to our hearts. No doubt we should start a restructuring in defense of these places. [end recording]

Moscow Police Chief on Crime Statistics

LD3108210888 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] The Moscow police chief, General Petr Bogdanov has said the number of criminal offences in the city had dropped by 9.6 percent in the first half of the year, as compared with the first half of last year. The grave offences have fallen by 4.2 percent over the same period. At the same time, there has been a growth in murders, attempted murders, and apartment robberies. Nevertheless, Gen Bogdanov said, the crime rate in Mosocw is far lower than in many other capitals around the world.

Donations Sought for Monument to Stalinism Victims

PM0208100588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 2

[V. Polovtsev report under general headline: "In Brief"]

[Text] Vorkuta—By decision of the gorispolkom, an account—No. 70801—for contributions to the fund for erecting a monument to the victims of Stalinism in the Polar region has been opened at the local branch of the Housing and Social Investment Bank. This was preceded by broad discussion in the city newspaper.

TRUD Article Assesses Drug Abuse Problem

PM0308144188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 2

[Special correspondent S. Prokopchuk article under the rubric "Protection Against Drugs": "The Price of Delays"]

[Excerpts] Nikolayev-Kiev—[Passage omitted] The records of health care and internal affairs organs today list more than 130,000 drug users. The number of drug addicts is steadily rising in Moldavia, Lithuania, Estonia, and other republics. These figures were cited at an all-union seminar organized by the AUCCTU in the city of Nikolayev. It was attended by trade union officials and representatives of the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, the Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Health, the MVD, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and the USSR Supreme Court. These indicators are rising now partly because people are more rigorous and are waging a more demanding struggle against the vice. Even 3 years ago, for example, the Nikolayev region had only a few hundred drug addicts. But the figures rose sharply when people here, without worrying about impressive statistics, got down to preventive treatment of the disease and seriously tackled the drug traffickers and den owners. But at long last now we know the truth. It is, however, not enough to just know about it.

Until quite recently drug addicts and their "partners"—procurers and dealers from all corners of the country—used to descend on hemp plantations in the Nikolayev region and some of the republic's other southern oblasts. Now this invasion has been halted. True, they adopted the simplest method: Banning the sowing of hemp and afterwards of the Ukraine's traditional crop—poppies. As a matter of fact, the state sowing of poppies has been stopped in other republics as of this year. Poppy cultivation has been banned on personal farms. About 42 tonnes of drugs and raw material for their preparation were confiscated from illegal circulation in the country as a whole last year, while over 140,000 hectares of wild hemp were destroyed.

Nevertheless, the results were not as expected. Experiencing difficulties in acquiring drugs of plant origin (statistically they account for 82 percent of all substances used by drug addicts), many addicts have started using chemical compounds, medicines, and tranquilizers. There has been a sharp rise in substance abuse.

But the misfortune also lies elsewhere. Drug addicts and substance abusers have become considerably "younger." According to USSR MVD data, 60 percent of them today are under 30 years of age. Moreover, an average of 58 percent of those registered with drug addiction clinics in the country are workers. The percentage is even higher in Kiev. Terrifying figures, really. And they call for a lot of work to be done. Especially by, for example, trade union officials. So far, these officials have not even thought of getting involved in the work to prevent this dangerous disease. [Passage omitted]

M. Kuzmenko, secretary of the Medical Workers Union Central Committee, noted that the territorial and sectorial "Health" programs must become one way of combating this disease. The only point is that they need to be improved accordingly. Though they reflect questions of the struggle against alcoholism to a certain extent, the problem of drug addiction is not even mentioned. The trade unions' task is to ensure that the programs are given a new meaning and to ensure their implementation.

It is hard to disagree with this conclusion. After all, there are only 31 drug addiction hospitals and 410 drug addiction clinics operating in the country. We know how costly this disease is, we can see the huge material and moral damage it causes to people and society. But for the time being it is not we but it that is on the offensive. [Passage omitted]

Defects in Handling of Precious Metals Acknowledged

PM0208152988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 2

[Letter from USSR Ministry of Finance State Repository officials under the rubric "What Has Been Done in Response to the Newspaper Article?": " 'They Sat on a Goldmine...'"]

[Text] The questions raised in the article "They Sat on a Goldmine..." which was published in the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 20 March 1988 have been examined by the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Finance.

The Collegium noted that the article was right to raise questions of the need to enhance the effectiveness of the utilization of precious metals and stones and to ensure their safekeeping.

Recently the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosbank, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the USSR Ministry of Geology, the USSR Ministry of Trade, and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Ties have compiled and submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers a number of documents aimed at establishing order in the extraction and processing of precious metals and precious and semi-precious stones, the manufacture and sale of jewelry goods, and the organization of the buying up of these valuables in the country. They reflect many of the questions raised in the press material.

The issue of jewelry goods from the USSR State Repository to enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems is carried out within annual resource limits laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers.

However between 1979 and 1983 there were indeed infringements of the existing instructions with regard to the issue of goods without prior payment and the admission to the State Repository of officials who were not directly connected with work relating to valuables. In individual cases, articles featuring in the "Museum and Antique Valuables" account were transferred to sales accounts on the basis of decisions of State Repository experts without consulting USSR Ministry of Culture specialists, which was in keeping with stipulations of the instructions which were in force at the time.

Since 1983 no more transactions of this kind took place at the USSR State Repository. Instructions relating to the work with USSR State Fund valuables have been revised, and regulations which ban the transfer or issue of any objects from the "Museum and Antique Valuables" account to other accounts have been introduced.

The USSR State Repository party committee is examining the question of the liability of officials who permitted violations of the procedure for the issue of articles made from precious metals between 1979 and 1983. The Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Finance has instructed the leadership of the State Repository to report on the results of the work to eliminate the shortcomings noted in its decision during the last quarter of this year.

Ye. Bychkov, chief of the USSR State Repository,

V. Shimanskiy, party committee secretary,

Ye. Mikhaylov, chairman of the trade union committee.

Issuing of Travel Visas Made Easier

LD0208103588 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Leningrad August 2 TASS—A short form to be filled in the Leningrad Department of Visas and Registration of Foreigners in order to get documents for going abroad on a tourist trip is the only thing left by today from an old multi-stage system of the official registration of papers that existed in that organization. In a four days' time a visitor comes there again to receive a passport for travelling abroad.

"Earlier I often heard that one has to overcome a lot of bureaucratic obstacles in order to get a passport for travelling abroad," Boris Linkov, 27, said to a TASS correspondent whom he met at the waiting room of the Department of Visas. He and his wife Elena came there to receive all the documents they needed for going to Bulgaria on an individual tour to have a rest.

"Glasnost and perestroyka that have made Soviet society more open have introduced significant changes in the work of our department," said its director Leonid Savitskiy. "The number of Leningrad residents travelling abroad increased more than twofolds last year."

The number of Leningrad residents who went abroad to visit their friends in capitalist countries went up by 3.5 times last year as against the previous one. This year over 20,000 people went abroad on this kind of trips.

Some 11,500 specialists of Leningrad mills and factories went to socialist countries this year on business trips. As a rule, they work at joint enterprises created recently in the USSR or at those that were given the right to maintain business relations with foreign partners on their own.

Economic

Official Describes New Hard Currency Stores

PM0308110188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by F. Ivanov under the "From Competent Sources" rubric: "What Instead of the 'Berezkas'?"]

[Text] Moscow—The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the USSR Foreign Economic Activity Bank, and the USSR Savings Bank, in coordination with the USSR Gosbank, recently adopted a provisional instruction regulating the rules for noncash trade in the network of specialized stores which is being opened to replace the obsolete "Berezkas."

As is well known, on 1 July, in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 18 January this year all "Berezka" stores trading with Vneshposyltorg cheques were closed.

The USSR Council of Ministers resolution provided for the creation of specialized stores trading in consumer durables by written order. People who have opened a special account at the Savings Bank or who hold currency in accounts at the USSR Foreign Economic Activity Bank will be able to use these stores.

S. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy minister of trade, describes how these stores will operate:

"Some 41 such stores, or to be more precise exhibition halls, have been opened in the country now. In these stores customers can choose goods which can be paid for only by written order through a bank or with the aid of a pay book issued by the bank."

"What goods can be acquired here?"

"The resolution indicates that the emphasis will be on consumer durables. The purpose of these stores is to attract more currency, so we will try to offer customers goods in acutely short supply such as automobiles, garden huts, trailers, furniture, construction materials, household and radio equipment, and sanitary items. I should say immediately that you will see no light industry goods in the exhibition halls and the quantity of imported goods will be considerably smaller. Naturally we assume that trade turnover in these stores will be less than in the 'Berezkas,' but above all because illegally obtained cheques have now been completely 'put out of the game.' Nonetheless the first month of the exhibition halls' operation has shown that they are enjoying success among customers. In the 4 weeks of July in Moscow alone we did over R5 million of business."

"It is no secret, however, that the lion's share of this sum was received at those stores which were trading in imported radio equipment moved from those 'Berezkas.' In the remaining exhibition halls extremely few purchases were made..."

"Unfortunately that is so. The hullabaloo which arose around the 'Berezkas' in the final months of their operation and people's desire to trade in the cheques in their possession for anything at all led to the point where in the first 6 months of this year we sold as many goods through the 'Berezkas' as over the entire previous year. Our stocks of many items, of automobiles for instance, are fully exhausted. It is hard to entice customers into these stores with goods which are widely on sale."

"Can the situation be put right now?"

"We are already doing something: We are transferring to these stores from marketable stocks some of the goods in short supply, and we recently obtained an additional 800 automobiles. I realize that all this is not enough. But it will only be possible to rectify the situation completely next year, when the volumes and range of goods for the exhibition halls will be planned on the basis of real demand."

Fewer Capital Market Constraints Urged

PM0308145788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Professor A. Volkov, doctor of historical sciences, under the "Problems and Opinions" rubric: "Does Money Need To Be Mobile?: The Migration of Capital in the National Economy"]

[Text] It seems to me that an important element of the economic mechanism—the migration of capital—has been virtually lost sight of by economists, both theoreticians and practitioners, in the process of radical economic reform.

I recall that Marx described the shifting of capital from one sector of production to another in pursuit of greater profit as "migration." Schematically the process looks like this: If the profit norm in a particular sphere of production is relatively high, and this can happen if a new product in high demand appears, a shortage of a product occurs for some reason or other, and so forth; available capital from other sectors, perhaps even capital employed hitherto in traditional production which, however, is exhibiting declining growth prospects, rushes to fill this niche.

What is the consequence, then, of such shifts? The niche is quickly filled. Output of the product for which demand outstrips supply is increased, its price falls, and the profit norm roughly levels out to the average. Life, of course, is rather more complex, but the schema for the migration of capital described by Marx operates under capitalism to this day.

What happens if such a mechanism does not operate? Here we will use an example from our own economy. For instance, the automotive industry sells its product at high prices and has good profitability. The demand for cars is not being met. It is possible to make cars even more expensive, and they will still be bought. This is shown, for example, by the prices at the free Moscow market at Yuzhnyy Port and in numerous other cities which are much higher than state prices. However, no capital rushes into this profitable sphere of investment. Therefore, no matter how expensive cars become, production of them does not expand and the money obtained for them can be channeled via the state coffers wherever you like, but not into overcoming the shortage. And you must not expect any lowering of car prices here either.

Yes, any economist will tell you that spontaneous migration of capital (money, resources, and so forth, to prevent anyone fault-finding) does not exist in our country. But only an economist clearly approving of this kind of system will add that the state allocates all its social resources sensibly and rationally and invests money wherever it is more beneficial to society not just from the standpoint of profit but from the standpoint of meeting social needs. Yet we know that while some goods are in short supply, depots are crammed with other goods that don't sell. There is certainly no need to demonstrate in detail that such a centralized system works badly. Economic accountability in its developed form should theoretically overcome this defect. But while centralized funds take an enormous amount of an enterprise's income, they cannot sensibly finance even their own urgent needs involved with modernizing traditional production.

It seems that we are moving in principle toward solving this problem. But it is worth looking more closely at what we are losing from our fear, as it were, of the free movement of capital. In general the operation of the entire new mechanism created as a result of the economic reform is being paralyzed by this. Let us, however, dwell on just two examples.

World practice convincingly shows that the modern scientific and technical revolution demands not just a concentration of major resources but also a kind of democratization of the choice of directions taken in scientific research and industrial development.

A conference on problems of high-temperature superconductivity was held, for example, in Houston, Texas. Only one-fourth of its participants were scientists, the rest were representatives of major firms who came to determine what avenues of research they should back. Imagine V.P. Kabaidze, a first-rate innovator and general director of a very large machine-tool building association, at a similar conference. He would know how to choose, but does the opportunity to give backing arise?... Nearly always the choice is not made by him, someone who is at the cutting edge of production and well-informed about the matter. We thus have here a brake on the scientific and technical revolution and, perhaps, one of the causes of our lagging behind in it in many respects.

Let us now look at the problem from the standpoint of the ordinary consumer, that is to say, each of us. We have already seen for ourselves with the example of cars and numerous other examples that even if we pay an ever-increasing price for a product, this in no way means that the shortage of it will be overcome, let alone that it will soon become cheaper. It is particularly important to grasp this when we are seriously discussing revising and increasing prices on many essential consumer goods.

What to do? It seems to me that the problem will not be solved unless we pay special attention to the mechanism governing the movement of capital. It requires special consideration.

This includes: the correlation between spontaneity and economic regulation in redeploying resources; the question of the extent of enterprises' independence in a given sphere of activity; the question of the diversification of their production and the potential for channeling available capital into other spheres of activity; and the question of the capital market, about which we maintain in general, for some reason or other, a coy silence.

The development of the cooperative system can give a very great deal, but only where it will not be restricted to the level of enterprises trading on the Rizhskiy Market, where enterprises will increase their size right up to that of transnational cooperative associations.

What appears to be the main obstacle to solving the problem? Our traditional fear that spontaneous capitalism might somehow develop. But we have already seen for ourselves countless times that this does not threaten us at all; no, it is stagnation, a lack of dynamism, including, what I would call, our immobile money, weakened from lying recumbent, that really threatens us with backwardness.

It is necessary to see and solve the specific problems of the economy that confront us by using the best means known to world practice; our economy will then develop more dynamically and we will create the economic basis for a really advanced society more quickly.

Agricultural

Moscow Papers Report Grain Harvest Figures

PM0308154188 [Editorial Report] Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian on 2 August carries on page 1 under the headline "Bridging the Gap" a 150-word unattributed report datelined Stavropol, according to which "the kray's machine operators have completed threshing on 1.5 million hectares."

The same paper also carries on page 1 under the headline "Above-Plan Grain" a 150-word TASS report datelined Voronezh, which says: "Above-plan grain deliveries are under way. This news is echoing from the Voronezh elevators, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. The motherland's granaries have accepted deliveries of 1.25 million tonnes of newly harvested grain."

SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian on 3 August carries on page 1 under the headline "Weighty Contribution" a 100-word TASS report datelined Elista, 2 August, which says: "As of today, Kalmykia's crop farmers have delivered to the state granaries 115,000 tonnes of choice grain instead of the 100,000 tonnes according to their plan target."

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 4 August in its First Edition carries on page 1 the following boxed "Report by the USSR State Committee for Statistics":

"By 1 August grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been reaped on 41.6 million hectares and threshed on 37.2 million hectares. Last week alone, grain threshing was completed on 16 million hectares.

"Tension in meadows and feed fields remains high. By the beginning of August farms had procured 55.3 million tonnes of hay, 61.9 million tonnes of haylage, and 17.7 million tonnes of silage. Let us note: The pace of laying in hay and haylage is slower than last year even though grasses are good in many places, making it possible to speed up this work."

Military

Vice Admiral Interviewed on Navy Day

LD3107163088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Interview with Vice Admiral Vasiliy Ivanovich Panin, chief of the Navy political directorate, by Galina Vinogradova on the occasion of the USSR Navy Day, in the studio; date not given—recorded from the "Time, Events and People" program]

[Text] [Vinogradova] Vasiliy Ivanovich, as far as I know, you have already devoted 36 years of your life to service in the Navy.

[Panin] Yes, that is so, Galina Yefimovna.

[Vinogradova] That indeed is a whole person's life. You know, today I want to convey through you my congratulations to the entire personnel of this branch of the Armed Forces on Navy Day.

[Panin] Thank you very much. I am sincerely grateful to you.

[Vinogradova] Vasiliy Ivanovich, as far as I know, it was back before the war, I think, that this Navy Day festival was first celebrated.

[Panin] Yes, we have been celebrating Navy Day since 1939, and we are now marking it for the 49th time.

[Vinogradova] Exactly a year ago you were a guest of our "Time, Events and People" program, and it would be very interesting for you to say what has changed in the Navy during the year.

[Panin] There have certainly been changes. First and foremost people have changed. I will not be wrong to say that there has been a sharp upsurge in the civil self-awareness of personnel. As never before there is evidence of a lively involvement in the affairs and life of the people. The ideas of restructuring, the preparations for the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, and of course the conference itself have left no one outside sociopolitical life. Frankness of opinion, glasnost, principled stands, and critical judgment have all become natural in the life of each collective of servicemen. In this we see, above all, a qualitative growth in the Navy's decisive strength, which is people. This is certainly a guarantee of the fulfillment of our future practical work.

[Vinogradova] Tell me, is it possible in this connection to speak about any specific results and outcomes?

[Panin] Yes, of course. After all, Navy Day is not only a professional festival for the Navy's sailors. It is also to a certain extent a demarcation line in combat and political training. If one is to speak of the results of the first half-year, we have in all fleets and throughout the Navy as a whole a growth in qualitative performance indicators in all forms of combat and political training. People's conduct has also become more responsible. We think that there is now more organization and order in collectives of servicemen, with the caveat that in this respect there is room for improvement—much room..

First and foremost today I want to mention the crews of the Soviet ships which are performing responsible tasks in all respects in the difficult Persian Gulf. A high standard of naval training has been displayed by the crews of the naval minesweepers Zaryad and Kurskiy Komsomolets, the destroyers Stoykiy and Boyevoy, the large antisubmarine ship Admiral Tributs, and other ships.

The personnel of the nuclear submarine Minskiy Komsomolets, the initiator of socialist competition in the Navy, have carried out their tasks on a long voyage with a high assessment. A good reputation has been gained this year by the crews of the aircraft carrier cruisers Novorossiysk and Minsk, and there has been much good work aboard the rocket cruiser Varyag and Groznyy and the large antisubmarine ship Ochakov. All of these are among many other collectives of servicemen who have successfully fulfilled their first period of training and are rightfully the pacesetters in our Navy.

[Vingradova] Vasiliy Ivanovich, I know that you were a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference. Some comrades feel that insufficient attention was paid to the defense issue.

[Panin] No, this is not my view. First, although there was a tremendous wish by many delegates to have their say at the conference, the floor was nevertheless given to Lieutenant General Gromov, Army commander and the Armed Forces' delegate. Second, one must bear in mind that the country's defense and the power of the Soviet Armed Forces is a product of the economy, scientific potential, and the people's moral and political condition, and these matters, as you know, were paid exceptional attention at the conference. It seems to me and to military people that the task for the Armed Forces is well understood and was expressed clearly by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Its essence boils down to this: defense effectiveness should henceforth be ensured predominantly by qualitative parameters both with regard to equipment and military science and with regard to the personnel of the Armed Forces. If one bears this all in mind, I think you will agree that sufficient attention was paid to the defense issue at the conference.

[Vinogradova] How then were the decisions of the conference received by the personnel of the Navy? I would like to hear your personal observations in this respect.

[Panin] You know, of late I have been having very frequent encounters with the personnel of many collectives of servicemen as a delegate of the 19th conference. I can say quite definitely that study of the material and decisions of the party conference has not only evoked lively interest but also profound pondering on the part of the servicemen about ways to implement them. In one servicemen's collective in the northern fleet, for instance, along with proposals, I was asked 71 questions. I was answering the questions for over 3 hours. Each resolution and each provision of the 19th all-union party conference is now being pondered. Its decisions are becoming part of our life. This was discussed at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which has just taken place.

[Vinogradova] Incidentally, don't the notions of glasnost and democratization come into conflict with strictly regulated military service?

[Panin] No, they do not. Unified command on a party basis has been, is, and remains the main principle in the construction of the Soviet Armed Forces. Incidentally, it has always depended on the party collective and collective common sense as a whole. Glasnost and democratization, I think, help us to avoid mistakes and to consider and adopt decisions while taking account of their moral-political consequences for servicemen's collectives and for all personnel. This particularly applies to the social sphere of our existence and life. As far as combat control is concerned, this must certainly continue to be implemented firmly and without deviation.

[Vinogradova] That is to say that, as throughout our entire life, glasnost and democratization must be combined with strict discipline.

[Panin] Yes, that is definitely so.

[Vinogradova] Vasiliy Ivanovich, today is your festival, and perhaps it is not so necessary to speak about shortcomings.

[Panin] Why should that be? It is necessary to speak of shortcomings, too.

[Vinogradova] Okay, then, here is a question for you: Surely problems, difficulties, and unresolved issues exist in the Navy, as they do throughout our life?

[Panin] Of course they do. In combat training, for instance, the main mechanism holding us back is infringements on the systematic character of combat training, personnel being taken away from their studies, and oversimplification of training. The main principle of teaching troops what is essential in war is being violated all around.

Restructuring is bringing about the attainment of a new level in the moral and political condition among personnel and the strengthening of discipline. Here, efforts are being directed at finally eradicating nonregulation relationships and at firmly establishing standards of communal life in servicemen's collectives. In short, the main aim is to bring the whole of the life and activities of the Navy strictly into line with the requirements of the party and the times we are now living through.

[Vinogradova] You know, in before and after the war, probably one out of two young boys wanted to serve in the Navy. Now among a certain section of young people there is a widespread view that service in the Navy is harder and longer than in other branches of the forces. After all, the term of service lasts for 3 years in the Navy, does it not?

[Panin] Yes, that is so. I do not think, however, that there is any easy service in the Forces, either in the Navy or in the other branches of the Armed Forces, but if one is speaking about hardships in naval service, it does indeed require the devotion of all one's moral and physical strength. The ships do make lengthy maritime and oceanic voyages in different climatic conditions. There is the pitching and rolling. There is the separation from one's homeland. All this certainly demands both extraordinary capabilities and tremendous willpower. Service in the Navy is definitely for real men. As for the 3-year term of service, this term is, in my view, the minimum possible for a person to become a real sailor. I always remember what the famous Russian naval commander, Pavel Stepanovich Nakhimov, had to say. There is no hard or easy path for a sailor, he used to say. There is just one path: that of glory. Indeed, it is not without pride that I say that the overwhelming majority of personnel proceed precisely along such a path.

To round off our conversation, I will permit myself on behalf of the Military Council and the political director of the Navy to cordially congratulate the personnel of ships and units and above all those that are currently performing an ocean tour of duty far from home shores, and to congratulate their relatives and friends, our glorious veterans, our wonderful designers and shipbuilders, college cadets and pupils belonging to the Young Sailors' Club on Navy Day, and to wish everyone good health, great happiness, and success in their service and work.

Baku Holds Navy Day Celebration

NC0208092788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Representatives of Baku workers and the Baku garrison organized a jubilant meeting on the occasion of USSR Navy Day. The officers of the Red Bannered Caspian Flotilla attended the meeting. Comrade Mamedov, secretary of the Baku Gorkom of the Azerbaijan Communist Party opened the convocation. Rear Admiral (?Lashinka), commander of the Caspian Flotilla, addressed the meeting. The representatives of the republic's workers, intellectuals, Komsomol members, and youths warmly congratulated the Caspian seamen. Comrade Elmira Kafarova, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, participated in the jubilant meeting. A concert was given at the end of the meeting.

Exercise Shows Air Defense Failings

PM0308133588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev and Lieutenant Colonel A. Manushkin under the rubric "Combat Training: Acceleration Reserves": "Surprise Attack"; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Northern Group of Forces—Skillful collaboration among air defense crews, posts, and subunits plays a special role in a combat situation. For example, in combat motorized riflemen or tankmen, as a rule, are able to sense one another's close proximity and see their neighbors. Soldiers in the Air Defense Forces often lack this: The battle stations of even a subunit are at times a considerable distance from each other or are divided by the thick walls of radar stations and units. In these conditions a very great deal depends on the command posts which organize and direct operations. This is why our correspondents decided to visit two command posts before a surprise attack which no one at the local level knew was coming: the antiaircraft missile unit where Colonel V. Popov is deputy commander, and the antiaircraft missile division which is commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Myslinskiy.

Unit Command Post (Operations Time 0953 Hours) [subhead]

The mechanism for puttting the unit on the highest level of combat readiness comes into operation. Major E. Eykholts, operations duty officer, confidently reports the situation to the unit commander. The officers come in one by one and take up their battle stations. Behind the transparent acrylic sheet on which the firing zone is drawn the plotters mark the first radar fixes on the airborne "enemy" with colored chalk.

Division Command Post (Operations Time 0954 Hours) [subhead]

It can be seen from the control cabin that the resources of the division under the command of Lt Col Myslinskiy are located in a sparse pine forest. On a hillock there is a radar station, a bit further away there are self-contained power supplies... Everything is on hand, so to speak, everything has been thought out down to the last detail. This is probably why the soldiers had no problems in commencing operations quickly. Soon the battery commanded by Senior Lieutenant A. Tishin reported from the launch position that it was ready for combat.

Unit Command Post (Operations Time 0959 Hours) [subhead]

The situation which Major Eykholts reported to the commander indicates that four medium-altitude small targets are approaching the firing zone. The airborne "enemy's" speed, altitude, and bearing can be seen on the plotting board. All the same the plotting board is, so to speak, a tribute to days gone by. Today it is utilized, as a rule, to get an idea of the overall situation in the air, the thrust of the "enemy's" actions, and his intentions. But the main tool, so to speak, in the work of any command post is the plan position indicator. There is one here too. But the scope is dark, which has caused confusion now, at the very beginning of operations. Lieutenant Colonel V. Gudz, chief of the command post, explained:

"The indicator, unfortunately, is not working, but everything will be all right..."

The fact that the officer said this so lightly was worrying. Later it transpired that the indicator was turned off because the radar station driving it was undergoing routine maintenance. As a result the unit commander was deprived of the opportunity to control the battle confidently from the command post.

Division Command Post [subhead]

The cabin's control panel is like a brightly lit Christmas tree: flickering lights, indicators, and displays. The "man-missile" system to which Lt Col Myslinskiy has devoted so much time to improving, figuratively speaking, has burst into life and been filled with signals from the command post.

The operators, Privates V. Demyanenko and V. Sinilnikov, begin automatic tracking of the target. But immediately yet another target designation is issued from the unit command post... Now their main concern is not to miss the blips on the indicator screens and to backstop each other. The rest is up to the division commander. Assessing the situation, he decides to launch the first missile.

Unit Command Post (Operations Time 1010 Hours) [subhead]

"Target destroyed," Myslinskiy announces over the loudspeaker. The missile troops seem to be right on top of the battle situation. But now it transpires that the first target was a decoy. Two others, switching altitude, are already entering the troops' zone of responsibility. What will be the decision? In order to make a decision, you need to have your finger on the pulse of the operations of the command post specialists. At this tense moment it was beginning to falter. Irritability and haste started to emerge in some specialists' work. Lt Col Gudz, chief of the command post, issued an incorrect target designation. Pvt I. Kargin, the plotter, was careless in plotting the information. A babble of commands and clarifications fill the airwaves, in breach of radio discipline. The unit commander had to step in...

Work returned to normal. But then something unforeseen happened once again. The computer in the unit commander's control cabin failed. It failed, it later turned out, because of poor preventive maintenance carried out the day before, for which Senior Lt A. Borisenko was responsible.

"Take my place," the unit commander ordered Lt Col Gudz, since he obviously had to join in the repair work.

Division Command Post (Operations Time 1025 Hours) [subhead]

Failures and irritability also emerged in the work of the division command post specialists as the situation in the air became more complex. The recording of the radio conversations gives a clear idea of this: "Give me the coordinates more quickly...," "give me the height...," "repeat the bearing...," "we won't have time to fire at the second target..." To be fair, we shall say that the division soldiers, although at times on the verge of failure, continued to fulfill the set task. They tracked the performance-grading intercept targets. True, other "obstacles" arose. A constant stream of instructions, prompts, and corrections poured from the unit command post. Lt Col Myslinskiy must be given his due, he did not lose his head and did not waver in this situation. Composure, restraint, and high professional expertise enabled him to skillfully control the division in battle and make the right decisions. The division downed the second target too.

Unit Command Post (Operations Time 1045 Hours) [subhead]

In a real battle losses are inevitable, and any officer must be ready to replace his commander. Lt Col Gudz willingly took on this burden. But the whole uncertainty of his position lay in the fact that, as you will recall, the plan position indicator was not working. As a result Lt Col Gudz found himself on his own with nothing but a plotter and a microphone in his hands.

It is difficult to say how the soldiers would have gotten out of this situation if it had been more difficult. Without the indicator the command post, so to speak, lost its perfect vision. And Lt Col Gudz was unable to see and assess the situation as it was at any given second. His decisions now depended largely on the quality and speed of the plotters' work.

This continued for about 5 minutes. As a result control of the air defense battle at this point was weakened. True, Sr Lt Borisenko and the unit commander should be given their due since they quickly eliminated the fault. Soon the commander's confident voice was again heard over the air. His experience and tactical skill compensated for the 5-minute break from work. The targets were eliminated.

Off-the-cuff interview with Colonel V. Vitvinin, acting chief of the Northern Group of Forces Air Defense Forces:

[Correspondents] Comrade Colonel, how do you assess the actions of the unit subunits in deflecting the airborne "enemy's" attack?

[Vitvinin] I think that personnel coped with the task, although I would say that there were shortcomings and "rough patches." A case study will be compiled on the results of a preliminary analysis of the objective control materials and hearing of the tape recordings. We shall point out all the shortcomings and plan measures to overcome them.

[Correspondents] So did the radar station that was out of service not substantially influence the work?

[Vitvinin] The commander would have had greater opportunities in the struggle against the airborne "enemy" if the radar station had been in service. But it was undergoing maintenance in accordance with the technical servicing plan. The supplementary plan position indicator is an auxiliary means of control and no provision is made for replacing it for the duration of maintenance. The main means is the automated control system which is linked to all the types of radar stations in the unit's possession.

[Correspondents] But this only confirms the idea that the basic apparatus must be in a state of maximum combat readiness. Yet it failed...

[Vitvinin] There was indeed a computer breakdown during operations... But the fault was revealed by the efforts of the crew and was eliminated during the time allotted for current maintenance. There were no losses of battle control, the fire missions were fulfilled in a timely manner... Although, of course, it is a bad thing when something breaks down during operations. But technology is technology, and breakdowns happen. The most important thing is to notice the breakdown quickly and eliminate it.

[Correspondents] Lt Col Gudz, chief of the unit command post, sometimes gave an incorrect target designation, to which the unit commander drew his attention. How do you explain the poor standard of professionalism shown by the command post chief?

[Vitvinin] You cannot speak of the command post commander's poor professional training. He is a class one specialist, underwent the appropriate training, and passed the examination authorizing him to go on alert duty. But the poor coordination in the work of the unit command post, the indiscipline of certain crew members, and the absence of timely reports forced the unit commander and the command post chief to make inquiries several times and to clarify the subunits' tasks...

[Correspondents] One last question. How do you explain a certain mistrust felt among the unit command post specialists of the specialists of the subunits' command posts? This was demonstrated, for example, in excessive tutelage and pointless directives which sometimes hampered Lt Col Myslinskiy in conducting the battle.

[Vitvinin] I think this question is superfluous. In the operations process tasks and target coordinates can and must be clarified... [Vitvinin ends]

And so, a routine check has been carried out of a unit of the Northern Group of Forces' air defense forces and facilities. Frankly, this was by no means the most complicated attack, in terms of both the number of targets and the tactics employed by the airborne "enemy" in attacking the facilities being protected. But even this attack revealed a number of basic shortcomings in the soldiers' work. It also exposed the rather low level of technical readiness. But Col Vitvinin believes that there is nothing special in this: "Technology is technology, and breakdowns happen." But it is not a question of breakdowns as a whole, but of instilling in soldiers intolerance of such phenomena. There is a rather superficial approach to this.

As we were able to see for ourselves, all the shortcomings in the soldiers' actions manifested themselves not in a calm situation but in critical, stressful situations. It was precisely at those moments that cooperation broke down, there were failures in target designation, the division commander's work started to be undermined, and the prompting started... But Col Vitvinin explains this just as poor coordination. If you analyze things in depth, the roots of this phenomenon lie in the habit ingrained among some higher command post specialists of exercising tutelage and deciding everything for the fire subunit commanders; in other words, not trusting them. The unit commander said this, for example, in plain terms at the analysis of the training session with the command post specialists. "Sometimes we simply prevented the second division commander from controlling the fire," Vadim Yunusovich stressed. "We harassed him and tore him away from his work."

Paradoxically, it turns out that the unit command post may not only help the fire subunits to resolve their tasks, but can also hinder them. Moreover, some specialists are convinced: They issued "central instructions" because they were absolutely essential. We think that it is time to get rid of such stereotyped thinking. The problem of the higher command posts trusting the lower ones, and giving them greater independence in resolving military tasks really exists. It cannot simply be brushed aside.